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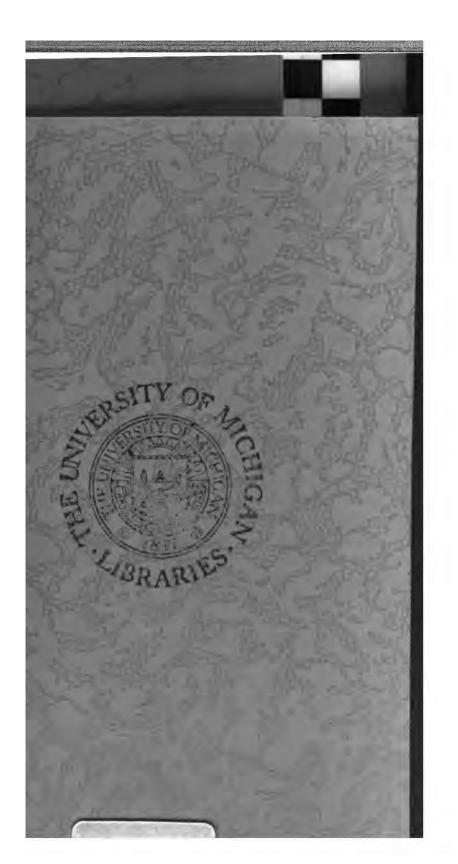
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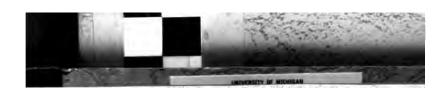
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BANDED MINISTRY

AND THE

UPAS TREE.

"Show me your company and I'll tell what you are."

BY

GERALD FITZGIBBON, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF "IRELAND IN 1868;" "THE LAND DIFFICULTY, WITH AN EFFORT TO SOLVE IT;" AND "ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS AND NATIONAL SCHOOLS."

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PREFACE.

This pamphlet was in print and nearly ready for delivery to the booksellers, when the Prime Minister's statement of the University Education Bill He took credit for the alleged was published. benefits arising from the Church Act and Land Act; and, for proof, referred to the statistics of crime, with which those Acts have no more to do than they have with the longitude. The case of Stevenson v. Lord Leitrim, on the construction of the Land Act, is stated at page 57. That Act, in general terms, made the Ulster tenant-right custom binding on landlords; and, at the same time, ignored the most important duty of a wise and benevolent legislature, in omitting to define what that custom was, capable, as it was, and is, of clear and adequate definition, viz., the right of the tenant to sell and transfer his possession to such substitute, as the landlord could not reasonably object to receive, as tenant in his place, at the old rent, or a revised rent. localities, and on some estates, there were certain known modifications of the custom—such as limiting the price, in order to prevent the new tenant from parting his whole capital, and entering on the land without the means of working it. But the right

to transfer the possession was an essential part of the custom, without which the tenant-right had no meaning, and could have no value.

Tenant-right, minus the right to transfer the possession, means neither more nor less than A minus A, and the formula to get its value is the simple equation A - A = x—quere the value of x? school-boy would answer—zero. But the majority of the highest court decided, that the Land Act enacts, that the value of x is A, and expunges —A from the equation. Two judges of the court hold the opposite opinion. This makes a case, coercive on the Legislature, to pass a declaratory Act, by which to clear this doubt, and relieve the subject from endless litigation. The court decided, that the landlord must pay the tenants' costs, although he had no other way of escaping the excess of £96, demanded by the tenant, than by defending the There being no appeal, the case governs all future cases, and makes it safe for the tenant to make an extortionate demand, and thus creates a necessity for a suit, if the extortion be not submitted to. The assertion that such a law is a legislative boon to the country needs no further commentary than this.

Having read the Bill, I collect from its complicated provisions what appears to me its essential principle—viz., to establish an Irish University, to which alone the right of conferring learned degrees in Arts shall belong. It is to be both a teaching, and an examining college, as well as University. From its curriculum, and from its examinations, Theology,

Modern History, and moral and mental Philosophy, are to be entirely excluded, as prohibited subjects. Taking Theology as a faculty otherwise, by the Bill, provided for, Modern History, and moral and mental philosophy are subjects absolutely forbidden, to which section 11 makes it dangerous for any teacher, or professor even to allude, lest he should be held to have wilfully given offence to the religious convictions of some other member. It further provides that no disqualification shall attach to any candidate, in any examination, by reason of his adopting, in modern history, moral or mental philosophy, law, medicine, or any other branch of learning, any peculiar theory, in preference to any other received theory. An Irish University degree, therefore, will not import any knowledge whatever of modern history, viz., the history of Europe from the infancy of the oldest of the nations now existing in it-no knowledge whatever of anything written or spoken on the subject of moral or mental philosophy. It will import no exemption from the wildest and most absurd opinions upon all or any of the sciences which engage the attention of the studious and thinking portion of Thus bringing every collegiate honour, and every learned degree within the reach of those who have undergone that operation, in Jesuit schools, so well described by Lord Macaulay, whereby the precise point is discovered, to which intellectual culture, in each case, can be carried, without risk of intellectual emancipation. The successful candidate for the highest honours, and the highest degrees, which can be bestowed by the sole University which

this Bill proposes to fabricate for insulted Ireland may believe; and, because the Catholic Church teaches it, believe, without a doubt, that the Ruler of the Glorious Universe, to a feeble description of which, I have devoted some introductory pages, has prostituted his omnipotence, in the construction of a red hot oven, in which, for all eternity, to imprison a hapless child. That to hear his "Terrible Judgment" on an infant victim, he has assembled the Angelic Host of Heaven, and the countless devils of hell, and in the hearing of this assemblage, has addressed to the convicted child a sentence expressive of transcendent malignity, such as never was ascribed to the prince of darkness himself.*

The stamp of learning impressed upon the fettered slave of this vilifying school, is also to be the learned badge of a Milton, a Newton, or a Locke. pated minds, who set a value upon collegiate distinctions, will avoid this badge, as they would avoid any other degrading stigma. An Irish University degree will be, to all the Universities of Europe, an object of Thus, while this bill suffers derision and contempt. Trinity College, and the Queen's Colleges to exist, it is a sheer destruction of their power to confer degrees. and drives their students to accept a base counterfeit. which will have no currency elsewhere. All who desire to take a respected degree in Arts must go abroad for it, and the colleges here will be deserted. 67. the dilemma is stated, in which the Rector of the Catholic College, in dictatorial terms, asserted that

^{*} See Roman Catholic Priests and National Schools, 3rd ed., page 19-21, and the tract entitled, "The Terrible Judgment" there quoted, in which the trial of the Bad Child is stated in full detail.

they had the Government fixed. Either they must charter and endow that College, or they must degrade and despoil Trinity College, and the Queen's Colleges. Cardinal Cullen was in the chair, and assented to this assertion. I did not think it possible for the Ministry to get either charter or endowment for the Catholic College; and I, therefore, thought it probable, that Trinity College would be the object of attack, as suggested at page 33. The intentions of the Ministry were kept secret, until disclosed by the statement of the bill, and the first impression made by it is, that both horns of the dilemma have been evaded; but, for the reasons before stated, I fear the destruction of the existing colleges is ultimately secured by it. The tertium quid is more destructive of collegiate education in Ireland than either horn of the dilemma could be.

The abolition of Galway College is one of its provisions, on the ground that this college is a failure. I believe it has not been a failure. It was placed in the strongest hold of the priests, and peculiarly obnoxious to their power; and every thing considered, I regard it as a success. first knew Galway, in 1832, with a population of 40,000, it had not a bookshop, great or small. I last knew it, in 1860, it had two respectable, and well stocked bookshops, attracted, I believe, by the College. In many other respects it had also greatly advanced, to which I have no doubt the College con-If this college had chambers, even for 100 students, I believe it would rapidly advance. town is not attractive as a lodging place for students.

This has been certainly injurious to it. Belfast and Cork are very different localities.

In the Punch of Saturday last, the 15th of February, 1873, the political picture is suggestive. The frantic hack, on which the panegyrist mounts his hero, is aptly typical of the brute force by which Irish institutions and Irish property have been invaded. The fence of "Irish Education," to which he brings up his consummate jockey, is that by which the honours and degrees, conferred by Trinity College, have been hitherto protected from obloquy, disparagement, or contempt. "Will he clear it" is the question!! That the frantic hack, and his daring rider may find it a break-neck jump, is the fervent wish of every friend of humanizing education, in this maltreated country.

BANDED MINISTRY

AND THE

UPAS TREE.

THAT the universe is governed according to the will and wisdom of one Almighty Ruler, it appears to me, no reasonable, reflecting man can have any That this world which we inhabit is but a particle of that universe, infinitely small when compared with the whole, is a fact long settled and placed beyond the reach of controversy. That space is infinite and without any imaginable bounds, and that duration never could have had a beginning, and never can come to an end, are facts perfectly clear and evident to a reasoning mind. That in the boundless space which exists, and which at all times must have existed, and for ever hereafter must exist. great bodies move in harmonious order, according to laws by the Great Ruler prescribed, and so impressed that mere matter has no power to disobey them, is a truth resting upon proofs as certain and conclusive as any that our faculties are capable of receiving.

Many of these bodies are conspicuously visible to the unassisted eye, (as the sun, moon, stars, and some of the planets,) but to our unaided vision presenting appearances which conceal their magnitudes, their distances, and the nature of the matter of which they are composed.

The azure sky, on which the sun, the moon, and visible planets appear to move, was long believed to be a material shell by which this central world was surrounded, and upon which, as upon a great ceiling, the stars were fixed, as brilliant ornaments for the admiration of man, and for the glory of the Great Creator.

By the exercise of faculties and powers of invention conferred upon the human intellect, it was discovered, and has been demonstrated with unquestionable certainty, that what to unassisted vision appeared a vaulted roof, is nothing but the impression which interminable space, viewed through the medium of our atmosphere, makes upon the beholder's mind; that what was believed to be a revolving shell, carrying with it sun, moon, and stars, and by its revolution producing alternate day and night to the stationary world, is nothing but the great void in which all things move, and which can have no motion of its own, and that day and night and the recurring seasons of the year are produced by the proper motions of the earth itself.

By the invention and improvement of the telescope, what appeared to be a luminous belt upon a vaulted roof, has been resolved into countless millions of stars, as distinct and separate from each other as those which so appeared to the naked eye. It is perfectly certain that those countless objects, which to unaided vision appeared in contact with each other, and form that galaxy which we call the milky way, are, in fact.

luminous masses of matter as distant from each other as the nearest of them is from the eye which beholds them, and whose distance from them is so inconceivably great as to reduce to an apparent point the enormous spaces between them.

The human mind, being unable to form an adequate idea of the distance which separates the earth from even the brightest and nearest star which we behold, is fain to seek some assistance from imagination, and computes it by the time which a ray of light must take on its passage from that star before it can affect an eye upon this earth.

Whether the effect on the eye produced by a luminous object, and to which we give the name of light, is caused by flying particles of matter, as supposed by Newton, or by undulations in some intervening medium, according to more modern theory, still, that light, whatever may be its nature, travels with progressive and uniform velocity, is established beyond all doubt; and this velocity is estimated and measured with equal certainty by means within the reach of human faculties.

The telescope, which resolved the milky way into distinct stars, at the same time brought to view small luminous clouds invisible without its aid, and apparently of the same nature as the milky way itself. When a higher magnifying power was attained and applied to these nebulæ, they also were resolved into separate stars, brought into apparent contact by their distance from the instrument which first made them visible. Again, the improved magnifying power which thus resolved

the first discovered nebulæ, brought to view more distant objects of like appearance, previously invisible, and, by analogical reasoning, believed to be resolvable into separate stars, whenever a sufficient power to magnify them shall be applied.

The final result of optical observation is, that, by parity of reasoning, we must believe in the existence of nebulæ as yet invisible to us, but which will be brought to view by such improved instrument as shall resolve into separate stars the nebulæ now only visible by the aid of existing telescopes, not powerful enough to resolve them.

That these countless stars, thus brought to view, are spheres of luminous matter, analogous to our sun, each being the centre of a planetary system invisible to us, seems a probable, if not a logically certain conclusion from all the observations made by the inquisitive ingenuity of scientific men. That they possess that property of gravitation which belongs to matter, in whatever place or whatever form it has been found, is not to be doubted; and it necessarily follows, that they are kept asunder, like the bodies of our planetary system, by motions proper for that purpose, in orbits to which, by gravitation, they are confined; otherwise mutual attraction would have long since drawn them into one chaotic mass, surrounded on every side by empty space.

Mere matter being obviously inert, and destitute of any power of its own to move, or to change the place or the condition, whether of rest or motion, into which it may have been forced by an external cause, it necessarily follows that the velocity with

which the celestial bodies move in their orbits must have been generated by some external force, distinct from the bodies themselves. Such regulated force never could have spontaneously originated in matter itself, and we know that power to use such force does belong to thought, wherever thought exists. We see that organised and animated bodies are moved by the thoughts which produce and guide their This effect is obvious and familiar: different actions. but how it is produced is not intelligible to human faculties. My thoughts and volition move my hand, and regulate and govern the motion which they give ; but when I apply my mind to consider the means by which mere thought can exercise this power of moving matter, I find myself at fault, and must rest satisfied with my perception of the effect, and I become sensible of my inability to discover, or understand how it is produced. The fact that a thinking agent can give, and does give motion to inert matter-the fact that, by mere volition, this agent can regulate and determine the velocity and the direction of that motion, or stop it altogether, is constantly occurring in my view, and makes it easy to believe that some all-powerful thinking agent has given, and still guides and governs the motions by which the order of this incomprehensible universe is preserved. the human mind reflects, the more impossible it finds it otherwise to account for the organisation and harmony which everywhere prevail, and necessarily must be the effect of design.

It is proved, with mathematical certainty, that the sun is distant from this earth some ninety-one millions

of miles, and that his light traverses this astounding space in the short time of eight minutes, to do which it must move through 190,000 miles in every second of time. With equal certainty it is proved, that, travelling with the same velocity, the light of the nearest star must be at least three years and three months in motion, before it can reach the eye of a spectator here. What then must be the distance of those stars which constitute the milky way, and the still remoter telescopic nebulæ?

If our sun, whose brilliancy dazzles the eye and illuminates the world, were as distant as the nearest of the stars, it is certain that it would be almost invisible to us-clearly proving, that those stars, which appear so brilliant to our unaided eye, must be of magnitude many thousand times greater than The number of stars visible to the naked our sun. eye, and of those made visible by the telescope, baffles all efforts to ascertain, or even to conceive it. suppose that their number is finite leads to the conclusion, that, beyond the most distant of those bodies, there is a boundless space unoccupied, and leaves the mind at fault to find a reason why so much should be so gloriously furnished and utilized, and why an infinite residue should be left a useless void by the omnipotent Architect of this apparently boundless system of worlds.

To assume that all these bodies were created, and that at some remote time they had no existence, forces the mind to ask whether the Creator, who must have existed from eternity, had suffered space, which must have co-existed with Himself, to remain void from eternity to the moment of duration at which matter was created and organised in the order now so obviously existing, and so inconceivably harmonious and magnificent; and, if so, to inquire why this glorious creation was so long deferred?

To suppose that this universe will pass away and be annihilated, or its organisation destroyed, at some future time, compels us to reflect, and seek some reason why the wise and benevolent Ruler of it should thus destroy His works, and elect to spend an endless future in solitude and empty space, or in contemplation of the chaos and confusion to which He had reduced the present order.

We are prompted to ask, why an omnipotent Creator, guided by perfect wisdom, and influenced by boundless benevolence, admitted the existence of evil, and subjected his creatures to the passions and vicious proclivities from which crime, slaughter, and moral turpitude have emanated, and have plunged the human race into such an abyss of guilt and suffering.

These, and many other bewildering questions, are forced upon a contemplative mind, by the discovery of the structure and apparently infinite magnitude of the material universe.

When the pride of human intellect goads us to grapple with these questions, we soon discover, that we have not faculties to solve them, and our efforts prove nothing but the futility of the attempt.

The assumed inconsistency of the modern theory of the universe with the truth of Holy Writ exposed the herald of it to the imputation of blasphemy and heresy, and his reward for thus illuminating God's works

and exhibiting their transcendent grandeur and glory. was imprisonment, disgrace, and torture. the Reformation began to extend the light of reason. and truth partially prevailed over the superstition with which the discovered structure of the universe could not be reconciled, it was by master minds believed, that the inconsistency of the new discoveries with revealed religion had been rashly asserted, and that the announcement of these discoveries had been unjustly and cruelly punished as a crime, deserving as it was of the highest honour and reward. know that while Newton proved the truth of what Gallilei asserted, he still held fast by the religious convictions of his early life, and has thus left us his persuasive testimony, that the highest order of human intellect, and the most searching exercise of inquisitive scrutiny into nature's laws and nature's works. are consistent with faith in revealed religion, and with belief in the doctrines of Christianity.

The proper conclusion to draw from our inability to solve the questions before alluded to, which arise from our contemplation of the infinitude of space and duration, of the boundless extent of the material universe, and of the omnipotence, the eternal existence, and other attributes of a Ruling Intelligence, is, that faculties for such investigations have been intentionally denied to us, in our present state, and that it is, therefore, our duty to acquiesce in this decree of Providence, and to be grateful for the light vouchsafed to us, and for the knowledge placed within our reach, and to seek that knowledge by diligent use of the faculties bestowed upon us.

These are amply sufficient for the discovery of our duties to the bountiful Author of all good, and to each other, in this probationary life. That we are destined for a more permanent future, the universal yearning for it is some corroboration of the revelation upon which a more lively faith, and a more confident assurance relies.

All who profess reverence for and confiding faith in the Christian doctrines agree in one cardinal fact-viz., that they were orally preached by one Infallible Teacher to assembled multitudes of men in the lowest and least learned ranks of life. this Infallible Teacher intended to use, and did use language marvellously simple, and singularly clear and expressive, especially on the subject of essential duty, is self-evident to every reader of His recorded lessons. That He intended to be intelligible, without note or comment, to His humble hearers, is equally certain, and equally obvious. No illustrations can anywhere else be found which will bear comparison with His parables, for clearness, simplicity, and His lessons were delivered without the expression of a doubt, that all who congregated to hear them had capacity to understand the doctrines which He preached, and the duties which He enforced. His lessons have been recorded, upon authority which no professing Christian can deny or doubt, to whatsoever sect he belongs. The original clearness, simplicity and force, which characterized the oral discourse, are obviously preserved in the writing which records it. He who addressed assembled multitudes of ordinary men never expressed a doubt, that His doctrines were intelligible to those who heard Him. Competent as He was to form an infallible judgment, He never expressed a fear that His words could mislead those who heard them, without note or comment, or betray them into a sinful or immoral act. There is still less reason to believe, that there is danger in deliberately reading the authentic record of these words, without the assistance of an interpreter.

History details the foul practices upon the credulity of mankind which followed the suppression of the Scriptures, and the substitution of what was represented to be the doctrines contained in them. To expose and repudiate the counterfeit, and to restore the genuine text of the Gospel to the hands of the laity, was the sum and substance of the Reformation, by which a portion of makind shook off the thraldom of superstition and priestcraft, and by which the yoke was alleviated even to those who continued to bear it, and who still adhered to the spurious system, notwithstanding the cruel abuses and atrocious crimes which had emanated from it.

When the right of reading the Scriptures, and of exercising individual judgment upon the doctrines contained in them, is insisted on, the utility of aid and assistance from learned guides and teachers is not denied or questioned. The privilege of collating the oral sermon of the minister with the written Gospel text, upon which it is a commentary, is equally consistent with implicit faith in the text, and with reverence and gratitude to one who devotes attention, and applies superior intellect in

deducing, and explaining the religious and moral obligations which, as corollaries, logically flow from the Scriptural precepts.

The few propositions clearly announced and conclusively demonstrated by Euclid, and so skilfully connected and arranged, have, for more than two thousand years, and to the present day, formed the elementary text and first rudiments of mathematical science, now grown to such gigantic dimensions. This simple concatenation of unquestionable truths is the first subject to which every student devotes his earnest attention. By it he tests the truth of new theories. If any of these be found inconsistent with one of the demonstrated propositions in the schoolboy's Euclid, this alone is sufficient to disprove the truth of the novel theory, no matter by what plausible arguments it may appear to be supported. The right of so testing the truth of his teacher's lessons belongs to every tyro, in every school of learning. To prohibit the solitary reading and study of the school manual, on the pretence that it may mislead the unaided reader, or make him less amenable to his teachers, would not be tolerated, or countenanced in any system of scientific instruction. Yet such is the pretext upon which the Scriptures are withdrawn from the hands of laymen, by the priesthood of the Papal Church.* The removal of this prohibition, and

[•] I use the word "Papal" because it expresses what I mean more concisely and accurately than "Roman Catholic." What I am writing does not apply, and I do not intend to apply it to Doctor Dollinger's section of Roman Catholics, or to the great majority of the educated Roman Catholics of Ireland. The word I adopt is also shorter, less ambiguous, and better understood than the clumsy and novel term "Ultramontane." I disclaim any intention of giving offence, or of insinuating disrespect by the use of this word.

the exhortation to read the Bible, is one of the most important and prominent principles of the Reformation, and one of the essential differences between Protestant and Roman Catholic teaching.

The clerical professors of Christianity, how widely soever they differ in other respects, all agree in asserting that every disciple is bound to regulate his religious and moral conduct according to the precepts expressed in the Gospel—that what the Gospels plainly teach it is man's duty to learn, to receive with confiding faith, and to follow with all the resolution and firmness which human frailty will permit him to exercise. But the mode of learning and ascertaining what the Gospels teach is the subject on which the Protestant teachers, of every denomination, differ from the Papal priesthood. Upon this subject they divide, and from this point they rapidly diverge.

The Protestant clergy place the Bible in the hands of the laity, and inculcate the duty of reading it. At every congregation for worship, a chapter from the Old, and a chapter from the New Testament are distinctly and audibly read, by which, even the illiterate hear them, without note or comment, and thus become acquainted with the pure text of Scripture.

When the minister selects a passage on which to preach, he first reads it distinctly, and generally twice, before he comments on it. He assumes that his congregation are acquainted with the Bible, and have read it, or heard it read. Every one who hears him is at liberty to form a judgment on the value of the sermon addressed to him, and may, or may not agree with the interpretation offered, or the conclusions drawn from the chosen text. The preacher pretends

not to infallibility, and does not expect a blind, unreasoning assent to any dogma which may not appear consistent with reason, and with the authentic text of Scripture. By a watchful application of this test, superstition is excluded, religion is advanced, and its purity is secured.

These clergy, elected and endowed as a human institution, have no pretension to any power or authority paramount to the constituted government by which they are chosen, and maintained in the ministry. They are not allowed to set up a title, under a pretended commission from Heaven, despotically to regulate the faith and morals of the human race, and to exact an unreasoning assent to all their doctrines. They are the ministers of religion, the conductors of public worship, the preachers of Scriptural truth, and the expounders of that atonement, by the merits of which the sins of repentant man are to be forgiven—not by them, but by Him whose stern demand of justice has been satisfied, and whose mercy has been set free by that voluntary and vicarious sacrifice which constitutes the foundation of Christianity.

In the reformed Churches, and especially in the Anglican Church, a latitude is claimed, and a fair latitude is allowed, for the exercise of reason, and of private judgment. Every one is himself solely responsible to the Omniscient Judge, and to Him alone, for the opinions which he entertains, and which no one has a recognised authority to control, otherwise than by right reason and persuasion. In this consists that liberty of conscience which was achieved

by the Reformation, and purchased by the blood of millions, who were immolated on the altar of Moloch, and murdered in the impious assertion, by the Papal priesthood, that they had a right-divine to dictate a rigid creed to the rest of mankind, and to enforce assent by fire and fagot.

It is the boast of that priesthood, that their Church is unchanged, and unchangeable. The same infallible Pope, appointed by Heaven, as God's vicegerent upon earth, assuming a position elevated above all human authority. The same multitudinous army of subservient ecclesiastics, marshalled in all the subordinate grades, from the College of Cardinals to the lowest order of barefooted monks. The same band of devoted Jesuits, dispersed, on active service, through all the nations in the world, pledged to obey every command of their superior, from the assassination of a refractory king to the basest act of treachery and dissimulation. Such were its functions, and such were its acts, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: passive, unflinching obedience was the original and essential rule of the order, and there is no evidence that the rule has been changed, although the commands are modified, according to times and circumstances.

The organisation of this clerical force still continues, and is marshalled as perfectly as it was during the contest in which it was defeated. Notwithstanding the defeat, the Papal army keeps the field, and is now manœuvering for power to recruit its ranks by means of schools, in which to propagate their doctrines amongst the rising generation. They demand primary

schools, with uncontrolled liberty to teach what they call the great truths of religion, one of which is "that it is a mortal sin wilfully to doubt, or disbelieve, or deny the so-called Catholic faith." The child is taught what they designate the "four great truths" upon which this faith is founded, and the last of which he is made to repeat, as "an act of faith," in the following words: -- "My God, I believe in thee, and all the Catholic Church teaches, because thou hast said it, and thy words are true." Having thus pledged the child and secured his credulity, they fill his imagination with terrifying pictures and descriptions of the dungeons in hell-of the sufferings in purgatory—of the trial and condemnation of the bad child, found guilty of a mortal sin, and given up to a host of devils, who seize him with their fiery claws and plunge him, for all eternity, into the burning pit, as described in the penny tracts, which the child must read. By these lessons they impress indelibly on the infant mind the belief and firm conviction, that they have the power to forgive and the power to condemn, that there is no salvation without their aid, and that all who disbelieve or deny their doctrines are doomed to eternal perdition. This is "the fullness of that distinctive religious teaching," which, by the published resolution of the Cardinal and bishops, they demand an unlimited licence to administer, "in the course of daily secular education, and to do so in State-supported schools.

They demand also a State-supported university, in which Catholic teaching is to be administered to the pupils of a higher order, and in which intellectual culture may be, by Jesuits craftily carried on to the highest point attainable, without the risk of emancipating that intellect from the bondage to which it has been from infancy subjected in the primary schools.

They demand, that, "in such schools, the teachers, the books, and the inspectors should all be Catholic." No security against interference with religion will satisfy them. They say, "If the Protestant teacher be a respectable man—if he be looked up to and esteemed by the children—they will persuade themselves that everything he holds is right. Seeing that he does not go to Mass on Sunday, a child will ask, Why should I go to Mass, when the master does not go? Hearing that he does not go to confession, or fast, another will say, Why should I be compelled to go to confession—why should I fast—when the master, who is so good a man, disregards such things?"

When Cardinal Cullen gave this reason, in these words, to the Education Commissioners, for excluding Protestant teachers from Roman Catholic schools, he sought to make it palatable to the Protestant part of them by adding, that "the same will happen to Protestant children in regard to a Catholic master." He probably did not intend to disclose a principle of Roman Catholic teaching discoverable, and plainly enough implied in his excuse for objecting to Protestant teachers. He says, it may shake the faith of the child, to see that a Protestant teacher is deservedly looked up to and esteemed:—"That one who does not go to Mass, or to confession, and who does not fast, should be so good a man, tends to

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make the pupils believe that one religion is as good as another; and that thus religious indifferentism would be encouraged."

The evil here described can only be deduced, as a result, from the pupil's intuitive knowledge, and actual experience of his Protestant teacher's virtues and merits, by which he must be, by his own observation, coerced to believe that a Protestant may be, because he sees and knows that his teacher is, a good and excellent man, and deserves to be looked up to and esteemed. The Cardinal says that such teachers must, therefore, be excluded, in order that the children may be kept from such experience, and be safely taught, without the fear of detection, that no Protestant deserves to be looked up to-that no man who does not go to Mass and to confession, and who does not fast, can be a good man. Intercourse and experience must not be allowed to falsify this lesson of the Roman Catholic school; and therefore the teachers and inspectors, as well as the books, must all be Roman Catholic. This inference is inevitable, and cannot with any candour be denied.

It is certainly humiliating to think, that the Government, the Legislature, and the Protestant people of the United Empire should be considered so stupidly blind, or so corrupt, as to accept such an argument as this for revolutionizing the system of National education, for excluding Protestant teachers, and for erecting Roman Catholic colleges and schools on the ruins of the institutions which exist, as demanded by the resolution of the Cardinal and Roman Catholic bishops.

The Reformation, in which Protestants so much glory and rejoice, had its beginning in the disgust and indignation excited by the sale of indulgences and religious emblems to which, it was pretended, these indulgences were mysteriously attached. opinion seems to prevail, that those gross impositions and abuses are things of the past, and that nothing so absurd would be attempted in our time. indulgences are now granted, and emblems to which they are attached are sold, although they are not publicly advertised, and their miraculous efficacy preached, in blasphemous sermons, as they were by the impostor Tetzel, in the time of Luther. value, nevertheless, is earnestly insisted on, Roman Catholic schools, and estimated by the number of days which each indulgence, and each emblem is endowed with power to take off from the appointed time of penance in the flames of purgatory. A crucifix, or other emblem, by the benediction of the priest, carries with it a plenary indulgence for death; and he who has gained a plenary indulgence is assured, that he goes straight to heaven when he dies, without suffering in purgatory. These lessons are printed in the penny tracts; they are taught in the Christian Brothers' schools; and there are many shops in Dublin the sole business of which is the sale of these emblems, of which they have a stock on their shelves, and exhibit specimens in their They teach that an indulgence obtained for some one particular soul, sometimes is not given to that soul, for that "perhaps that soul was already gone out of purgatory, or for some other reason. known to God. But still that prayer (meaning the prayer or the Mass by which the indulgence is obtained) is not lost, for it is given to some other soul, according as it pleases God."

In the darkest age of superstition, nothing more extravagant than this was imposed upon human credulity. Yet this is stereotyped doctrine of the present day, and printed in the penny tracts for the edification of children, permissu superiorum! Extravagant as it is, still it is surpassed by what follows.

In a forward class-book, used in all the schools of the Christian Brothers, a lesson is printed, in answer to the question, "What goes to the saving of the soul?" The answer teaches, that, by the priestly benediction bestowed upon "all sorts of thingswater, oil, candles, ashes, beads, medals, scapulars" -these things "are filled with a strange indefinable power, in the soul's behalf;" that "the body, soul, divinity of the Incarnate Word are communicated to it, over and over again, till it becomes quite a common occurrence, though each time it is, in reality, a more stupendous action than the creation of the world;" that "it (that is, the emblem blessed by the priest) can speak up to heaven, and be heard and obeyed there;" that "it can spend the satisfactions of Jesus, as if they were its own, and can undo bolts and bars in purgatory, and choose, by its determinate will, whom it will liberate, and whom it will pass over."

Such are the powers which the pupils, in the Christian Brothers' Schools are, by the authority of

the Church, taught to believe, are conferred upon the emblems blessed by the priests; and they are told, that this momentary action of the priest, in pronouncing this benediction, though quite a common occurrence, is, in reality, a more stupendous action than the creation of this world, which was the work of God himself, performed in no shorter time than six days, according to the Scripture.

This is a part of what the Church teaches, and what the fourth great truth declares to be true, because it is the word of God, and which great truth the pupil vows to God that he believes, because God has said it, and it is therefore true.

This stupendous action of blessing the emblem is clearly a voluntary act of the priest, which he may perform, or may refuse to perform, according to his own will and discretion. It is, therefore, the exercise of a power placed in the hands of the priest, and which the children from the first moment that they can understand words, are coerced to believe is, in fact, placed in the priest's hands. Whether all this is true or false, the child is made to believe it, before he can understand any argument for or against it, except the coercive authority upon which it is forced upon him, and which also tells him, that it is a mortal sin to doubt it.

When Mr. Grace, the head master of one of the Christian Brothers' Schools, was examined before the Education Commissioners, his attention was called to this lesson in their class-book; and he gravely asserted that it was orthodox doctrine, and "authorized by our Divine Lord himself, in his use of clay and

spittle, as recorded in the Gospel." (See evidence to the Commissioners' Report, vol. 3, page 378, question 9,499.)

I am not writing to disturb the convictions of those who have been educated to believe this transcendent omnipotence of the Papal priesthood, and who are persuaded to accept this reference to Gospel authority to support it. My purpose is, to state truly what Roman Catholic teaching is, in the schools which are subject to the priests, and what they propose to teach, in the schools which they call upon Protestant England to support for them at the expense of the Treasury.

By the vow of celibacy, the Papal hierarchy and all its subordinate religious orders, male and female, are separated by a sharp line from the rest of mankind. The practical effect of their teaching is to give them the same dominion over all other men, which, at the creation, God gave to man over the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air. To achieve emancipation from this brutalizing pretension was the great purpose and object of the Reformation. To rescue the rising generation from relapsing into submission to this degrading tyranny is the purpose and object of those who advocate the principle of mixed colleges and schools, in which students and children of all creeds may associate, and may learn to love and respect each other, according to the Scriptural precept, which commands them to love a neighbour as each loves himself, and which defines that neighbour, not by his creed, but by his human kindness, and by his charitable conduct. To debar this humanizing intercourse—to

give crafty and bigoted teachers a safe opportunity of maligning all who will not accept their doctrines, and submit to their rule—to propagate religious animosity and strife, in furtherance of priestly power, —must be the inevitable consequence of establishing denominational schools and colleges, supported by the State.

Disturbed and menaced in all the countries upon the Continent, as the teachers of infallibility and other doctrines of the Papal Church now are, they have chosen Ireland as the strongest position for the encampment of their forces, and as a convenient base of operations against all other sects, and all other creeds.

In three-fourths of Ireland, the Roman Catholics are a large majority of the people. In some localities, those of other creeds are too few, and too much scattered to support schools of their own, and they will have no means of getting instruction for their children, except in the Roman Catholic schools. The Papal clergy, organized and numerous, and allied, as they now are, with the dominant English party and Ministry, will soon have an irresistible power of attracting proselytes. All the waverers of other creeds—all whose zeal in religion is a trading commodity, for the disposal of which they will resort to the best market-will be easy converts to the dominant creed. The poor and the humble dissenter, however stedfast in his faith, who has no other means of getting his children instructed in the first rudiments of learning, will appease his conscience by the plea of necessity, and must rely on parental advice, which will be but a feeble protection against the contagion to which he must expose his children. The Protestant landlord, fettered as he now is, will have much stronger reasons than he ever had before, for being "frightened out of his jacket"—as coarsely described by the priest Ryan—and will see no safe protection from the assassin's revolver, unless he secures the favour of the priest, by repenting of his heresy, and going to confession. The ambitious man who desires to obtain a seat in Parliament, or to retain the seat he has, will have no chance, unless he deserts the disendowed Church, and goes to mass. The professional man who desires practice, promotion, or place, must renounce his heresy, and return to the "only true Church," or else relinquish all hope of succeeding in the world. Proselytes will soon be so numerous, and so powerful, that they will not only countenance and support each other, but they will have power to bring scorn and ridicule on all who refuse to follow their example.

The persecution which, at the beginning of the last century, drove the Protestant dissenters to emigrate by thousands, and to seek liberty of conscience in the wilds of America, will be renewed and intensified, and will comprehend the Anglican Protestants, who were then the dominant persecutors, and whose posterity, to the third and fourth generation, are doomed, in this unhappy country, to suffer for that crime.

The dissenters of England, who are now leagued with the Irish priests and English republicans, and have formed the Ministry whose boast it has been,

that they were "banded together" for the extirpation of the upas tree, will, sooner or later, discover, that they have been sowing the wind, and that their turn will come to seek some shelter from the hurricane which will be the harvest of their seed-sowing.

The growing power of the Papal priesthood, in Ireland, has gained a large accession by its alliance with the party now in office. That party is compounded of the liberals, the radicals or republicans, the dissenters, and the Irish representatives, returned by priestly influence. "Banded together," these four sections are a large majority of the House. As a consideration for their alliance and support, the demolition of the Irish Church was an easy concession to the priests; and the debates upon it created but little interest, for every one knew that the subject of discussion was a foregone conclusion.

To this demand of the priests the Roman Catholic laity gave a cold and formal support, but their real feeling was indifference. The destruction of the Church brought no benefit to the tenantry, and would in no degree have satisfied them; but something was necessary to appease them, for on their votes the power of the priests in Parliament altogether depended. The landlords were for a long time the only competitors of the priests for influence over the voters; but the Irish landlords had a constantly diminishing party in Parliament, and it was the fashion in England to abuse them. The Land Act was, therefore, a concession to the tenants, as easy as the Church Act had been to the priests. Act, the last shred of party power has been taken

from these opponents of the rising hierocracy, and bestowed upon their adversaries.

These two enactments, extorted from the Imperial Legislature, convince the disciples of the priests, in Ireland, that their power for good or for evil, in this life, is commensurate with that which they arrogate to themselves in the next. At the first general election, they will have accumulated influence, and a prostrate opposition. Their victories will, therefore, be more numerous, and immeasurably less difficult than they ever were before.

The unscrupulous means by which they procured the abortive return of their candidate for Galway. now stand recorded and exposed. Their conduct at that election was not worse than it had been at many similar contests. The reversal of that return, and the judicial commentary on the agency by which it was procured, have galled the actors and their abettors, and have wrested from them the fruit of that particular iniquity. But it has had, and will have, other The fierce and tumultuous attacks made upon the Judge, who dared to censure conduct which every right-minded man must condemn, conclusively prove how wilfully blind the disciples of the priests are to their vices, however conspicuous, however glaring, and however justly rebuked. A further effect is yet to come; and that is the caution with which this exposure of legal dangers is sure to guide them in future contests. That election was a pitched battle between the landlords and the priests, and it proved how brute force, mendacious calumny, corrupt persuasion, audacious threats, and crafty agency,

can trample upon opponents who are restrained by any sense of shame, or principle of moral conduct.

Another inference to be drawn from that trial, and from the judicial commentary on the evidence taken upon it, is, that the clerical forces engaged in the contest had unlimited licence from their superiors to act as they did, or, at the least, had an assurance of connivance. The whole weight of ecclesiastical indignation has descended on the Judge, and none at all upon those who deserved the the judgment; proving that the rabble, who burned the Judge in effigy, were not more wilfully blind than the highest dignitaries in the Papal priesthood. The civil Magistrate has taken upon him to vindicate the violated law; but no investigation by ecclesiastical authority has been instituted, in vindication of outraged decorum and decency, not to speak of the scandal to religion and piety.

It will be instructive to trace, historically, the events, and the means, by which this electioneering influence of the priests has attained its present magnitude.

Their power over the minds of the Roman Catholic people has long been regarded by Protestants of every denomination, both in Great Britain and Ireland, as a pregnant cause of the Irish difficulty. It was believed, and commonly asserted, that the ignorance of the people exposed them to the priest-craft by which this sinister influence was acquired, and that education was the remedy.

Preliminary to the application of this remedy, Commissioners were appointed, in 1806, to report upon the subject of education in Ireland. Their twelfth and last report was made in 1812; and, as the result of their inquiry, stated that all attempts to interfere with religious convictions should be avoided, and that every intention of the kind should be unequivocally disavowed, in order that the children of all creeds should be attracted to the same schools. They called attention to a voluntary association of patriotic gentlemen, called "The Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland." of which the members belonged to all the several religious persuasions. It had been formed in 1811, and had been successfully acting on the salutary principle of mixed schools; and the Commissioners advised the Government to assist the efforts of these truly liberal and patriotic men. This advice was followed in 1814, when a grant was made of £6,980 to this association. This grant enabled them to remove their schools from an obscure part of the Earl of Meath's Liberty to a central position in Kildare-place, and the grant was annually continued to them for seventeen years.

The Government again appointed new Commissioners to report on the state of education in 1824. These arrived at the same conclusion as the former Commissioners, and reported "that it was a point of great importance to the State to unite the children of all religious denominations in the same schools; that it was only by training the youth of all persuasions in habits of early intercourse and attachment, that they could hope to establish among them those reciprocal charities, upon which the peace and harmony of society must depend."

At the earnest desire of the Government, these Commissioners resumed their labour, and for fourteen months after making this, their eighth, which they intended to be their last report, they used the most energetic efforts to induce the Protestant and Roman Catholic bishops to concur with them in devising a system of National education, in which the good principle of conciliation might be carried into effect. Their efforts proved abortive, and they made their final report in 1825, in despair of any compromise.

The matter so rested until 1831, when the Government, without further seeking assistance from the clergy, resolved to frame a system of National education for the poor, in accordance with the reports of the two sets of Commissioners, whose opinions were so obviously sound, and so perfectly coincident.

The programme of this scheme was announced in a letter from Lord Stanley to the Duke of Leinster, in October, 1831. It was not objected to by the Roman Catholic clergy; and Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, accepted the place offered to him on the newly-created Board of National Education. The Protestant clergy were divided. One section of them (powerful for evil) repudiated the Government scheme, and rejected the share which was offered to them, in giving it a trial.

A more detailed account of the origin of this great institution is given in the third chapter of "Ireland in 1868," where the reports and evidence are referred to, and a conclusion arrived at that has been remarkably proved by the events which have since taken place.

The Act by which Roman Catholics were admitted into the Legislature had, in 1831, only just come into The pledges and solemn protestations, operation. upon the faith of which it had been obtained, were then fresh in memory, and too recent to be openly violated by the leading clergy and laity who had given and uttered them. The seed of that electioneering influence, which has since grown to such formidable dimensions, was then but newly planted, and its growth was not to be interrupted by any unseasonable disturbance. Clamour against the Government system of National schools was, therefore, left to those clergy of the Established Church, from whose hands some powers had been taken, but to whom much was proposed to be still left, which they had the folly to throw away. The Roman Catholic clergy freely accepted all the functions assigned to them, in working the system; and they lost no opportunity of filling the vacancies left by the jealousy and spleen of their disappointed rivals. They, at once, became the patrons and managers of a great number of the schools, in which position they had full opportunity and ample means of corroborating, and increasing their influence over the passive minds of the children committed to them for instruction, and destined to be their subservient instruments at future elections. They did not then object to mixed schools. assisted in opening and establishing them. accepted a place subordinate to the Board, in conducting them. They, in time, became patrons of four thousand of these schools, in which they inculcated their doctrines, and increased their influence

over the passive minds of successive generations of children, for forty years, whereby they multiplied the number of their partisans in Parliament, until they have become a powerful party which no Ministry can ignore.

Thus an institution, designed for the propagation of knowledge, as an antidote to superstition and priestcraft, has been perverted to a purpose diametrically opposite to that intended, and has imposed more extensively than ever on the minds of Irish children the chains from which it was expected to protect them; and it has riveted those chains with an ingenuity which threatens to baffle all efforts to undo them.

The priests now think the time has come, at which they may safely kick away the ladder by which they have ascended. They now rebel against the schools, which they assisted in establishing, and which have cost the nation many millions of money. They have published a peremptory demand upon the Ministry to which they are allied, to lead them on to the assault, and they have expressed great indignation at the hesitation to obey their mandate.

In the end of 1871, it was generally believed, that a Ministerial attack upon the mixed schools in Ireland would create one of the sharpest contests of the then approaching session. But, before the Parliament assembled, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in a speech to his constituents, took occasion to announce that the Government was not ready to concede the schools to the priests, as demanded by their bishops. The insolence towards the Government, and especially

towards the Chief Secretary, which this intimation of disobedience provoked, was promptly exhibited at a meeting in Skibbereen, at which the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross presided, and threatened England with an Irish Parliament, if the demands of the Roman Catholics were refused. At that meeting a priest named Troy coarsely abused the Marquis of Hartington and his ancestors, as reported in the Daily Express of the 9th January, 1872. A breach had been made in the constitutional fortress by demolition of the Church of Ireland: and the disappointment was great, when the Prime Minister refused to direct an assault through this apparently practicable breach. But the ebullition of anger at the Skibbereen meeting appears to have been repressed by the more prudent commanders in the Papal camp, for the example was not followed elsewhere.

As 1872 was about to expire, the expectation of an attack on the mixed schools, in the next session, was reviving, when some Ministerial utterances have come forth to damp it.

It now seems probable, that a diversion will be made to pacify the priests, and that Trinity College will be the object of attack. As the Church was stigmatized, so this institution is also stigmatized, as a badge of conquest, offensive to Roman Catholics, lay and clerical. Its endowment is provokingly large, and said to be a cause of jealousy, because it is so partial. Its magnitude makes it also a tempting spoil for confiscation. The Ministry were disabled by constitutional law from endowing the

Papal Church, and from establishing it, as a State They, therefore, followed the doctrine of cy près, and did the next best thing they could do to gratify their allies, by demolishing the State Church which existed in Ireland. In like manner. when disabled from chartering and endowing a Roman Catholic college, they will abolish Trinity College, as a teaching establishment, and wi llconfiscate its property, to erect a make-believe examining university upon its ruins. When they cannot level up, they must level down; the meaning and effect of which is, to sweep away every institution in the country which obstructs the gigantic strides of the Papal priesthood towards the extension of their enslaving jurisdiction over all classes in this community.

Trinity College, which is now menaced, is the only Irish institution in which an academical education, properly so called, can be had. Colleges have no accommodation for resident students, and an academical education imports much more than a series of lectures suggesting ready answers to anticipated questions, preparatory to an approaching examination. The proper functions of a teaching college are very different. To educate is to train the pupil, and to develope his faculties, by teaching him what to study, and how to study with good effect. It is not to load the memory, but to cultivate the mind, and develope its natural faculties, and teach how to use them. The lectures, in a teaching college, should not be designed to give per saltum, and by a lazy process, the knowledge which

the pupils seek, but to teach them from what sources, and by what use of their faculties, they may acquire that knowledge, in solitary study, for Thus laboriously cultivated, the knowthemselves. ledge will endure, will fructify, and will elevate the students into the rank of thinkers, and useful in-In study, as in all other operations, mental or bodily, there is a skilful method of working, by which the greatest result, with the least expenditure of labour, is secured. The skilled workman, at any handicraft trade, learns this, during his apprenticeship; and the scholar learns it at a teaching college. from well-qualified tutors. Mere examiners do nothing to teach, however severely they may test the apparent existence of knowledge, by difficult questions; but a well-crammed parrot may answer, from memory, a sufficient number of these to pass, without perfectly understanding them. The preparation for such a test is widely different from a collegiate course of education, and will produce a very different order of men. Mr. Lyon Playfair has demonstrated this difference, and its national importance, in his valuable essay "On Teaching Universities and Examining Boards." But, beyond mere literary instruction, a collegiate life is a course of training, of greater value than

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students; by friendly disputation, and instructive discussion; by learning to correct a companion's error, without giving offence; by reporting progress, without boastful disparagement; by giving kindly assistance, without assuming superiority, and by the

By association with fellow-

numberless amenities which distinguish academical intercourse, collegiate discipline does more towards training the student for the coming battle of life than the most successful system of cramming for an examination. The manly exercises; the practice of fair play, in every contest, whether in sport or in study; the respect for reputation, and the estimate of its value, in a limited community of associated young gentlemen, where no base or ridiculous conduct can get countenance, or escape notice; all these have a value which it is impossible to estimate too highly.

I do not think it will be denied by anyone who has spent his undergraduate course in Trinity College, whatever may be his religious persuasion, that he has substantially derived these benefits from that institution; and that much of his success in life is due to it.

When the endowment of this great national school is pointed at, as extravagant, it should be noticed how much of it has been expended in permanent buildings and improvements.

Since I first knew it, two spacious squares have been added, to meet the influx of students. A splendid and highly ornamented building has been erected for lecture-rooms. The magnificent library has been newly faced with cut granite, to replace a decaying stone with which it had been originally built. This alone could not have cost less than fifteen thousand pounds. The roof of it has been recently taken off, and raised, to make room for increasing books. New buildings have been erected

for the medical school, and many other expensive improvements have been made, which prove that the income has not been selfishly appropriated to swell the personal emoluments of the Provost and Fellows who had the disposal of it. On investigation, I have no doubt it would be found, that the stipends of the Provost and Fellows have been much below the professional incomes of a far greater number of their cotemporaries in the legal and medical professions, who were their inferiors in collegiate reputation, and who attained eminence with less labour. This, indisputably, is an institution of which any nation may be justly proud, and the danger which now threatens it excites greater indignation than I have ever known against any party measure.

Although the priests will urge on the assault on this institution, and exult in its success, they will still regard it only as a step towards the great object of their ambition: and that is the uncontrolled possession of primary State-supported schools. the teaching in these entirely depends their hold upon the Irish mind, and that hold is the chief source, and great bulwark of their political power and influence. The destruction of the Established Church of Ireland was an important step in advance towards their great ultimatum of establishing their own upon its ruins. The destruction of Trinity College will be but a step towards the abolition of the mixed National schools, and the erection of denominational schools. as a substitute. Of these denominational schools an overwhelming majority will belong to the priests, in the three southern provinces. In Ulster, also, a large

number will be theirs; in some parts of it, more than half. These primary schools are not for the instruction of children in the rich, the educated, the well-informed, and fastidious classes of society, competent to supervise and control the lessons administered in them. They are schools in which the children of poor, illiterate, and ignorant parents are to learn the first rudiments of a very humble education. To these schools they are to resort before the earliest dawn of reason in their minds; for to the school the poor parents, who must labour for bread, send infants as soon as they can walk, to keep them out of harm's way, during some working hours of the day. the Roman Catholic priesthood has taught, is still teaching, and is now demanding increased powers and facilities for teaching to these unprotected children, is fully and clearly disclosed in the penny tracts which are printed and extensively circulated, permissu superiorum, by the clergy, amongst the poor classes whose children they claim an exclusive right If the Legislature is to meddle at all with to teach. the teaching of children, it cannot honestly do so, without undertaking the duty of ascertaining the character and tendency of the lessons which are to be forced upon them.

In the end of December, 1871, when it was expected that this vital subject would soon be under discussion in Parliament, I published a review of the tracts before mentioned, under the title of "Roman Catholic Priests and National Schools." These tracts are not intended for the eyes of legislators, or people in high life; and they have, for many years, been extensively

irculated amongst the poor, without attracting such My desire was to call attention to them, and, y accurate and literal extracts, to demonstrate the loctrines which they inculcate. This review was extensively read in Ireland, and also, to some extent, n England. It passed through three editions in a From it may be learned, without ew months. nuch trouble, what the priests are demanding unimited licence to teach, at the expense of the Creasury. If they are to have this licence from the constitutional governors of Protestant England, let ome light be thrown upon the lessons which these ulers are solicited to sanction and impose upon the waxen minds of poor Irish children. Let them not plead ignorance, as an excuse, when knowledge is nade easy for them; and let them have the full esponsibility which ought to attach upon wilful egislation, with open eyes.

The tales of ghosts and goblins, with which the nursery-maid terrifies the credulous child, are not nore palpably false than the most plausible of the stories, on the so-called great truths of religion, related in these tracts, and asserted to be of essential importance that the children should read and hear read. No length of life, no strength of reason, n many cases, is sufficient to dispel the fears associated with the dark, in the minds of those who have been thoroughly frightened by nursery tales, n early childhood. Far more difficult it must be to obliterate the terrifying impressions made by the tories in these tracts, with all the weight of priestly uthority, upon the minds of children subjected to

them for religious instruction. At the close of life, when the victim of these fabricated stories is about to enter into that dark and endless future, which the lessons of his childhood have, in his imagination peopled with millions of malignant tormentors, read to seize upon his departing soul, what protection will decaying reason be against the demands of the Church?

As parents often sanction and encourage themendacious nurse in terrifying the froward child, some rulers of mankind adopt and sanction priestly fabrications, as the easiest means of governing the ignorant and licentious classes of their subjects. But this is a wicked system, and the fruit of it cambe no better than the tree which has produced it. This is not to govern, but to terrify mankind into a degrading slavery.

It is vain to search the Scriptures for any authority to warrant such an organization as the Papal priesthood—obviously devised, as it is, for the subjugation of the human race, and hostile, as it is, to liberty of conscience and exercise of reason. I know no prototype for it, recorded in history, except that of the pagan Druids; and to their institution it bears a remarkable similitude.

The Druids were an organized body of priests, divided into many orders of subordinate grades, all subject to the despotic rule and authority of one-Archdruid, whose infallibility it was unlawful to question. His residence was stationary, at Dreux, in Gaul, and was a palace, and regal establishment, equal, if not superior, in splendour, to that of any

monarch of the time, in northern Europe. assumed power and jurisdiction paramount to that of any temporal sovereign, and claimed to exercise it, without restraint, over kings and their subjects. as well as over the subordinate Druids, in every country where that priesthood existed. These, under his authority, and distinguished by descending titles, such as Archdruids, Druids, &c., ruled the sovereigns and their subjects in Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and other countries, but chiefly in these, which were inhabited by the Celtic race. Deriving their Druidical authority from a pretended correspondence with heaven, they held municipal laws and magistrates in contempt, and set them at defiance. When the throne of the Archdruid became vacant, they filled it themselves, by electing one of their own body. When there were rival candidates, the contest was sometimes so fierce, that it excited a civil war—an effect, in subsequent ages, not unfrequently produced by rival candidates for the Papacy. In these and in many other striking particulars, the organization of the Pope and Papal clergy corresponds with that of the Druids, which had exercised similar power in Northern Europe, for ages before the Roman Empire extended over it. The Druids were alarmed at the invasion of the Romans, and dreaded that it would extinguish their power and influence. After the people had submitted to the victors, the Druids excited them to revolt. They kept up a constant agitation against the Roman government and laws, and still continued the impious practice of human sacrifice, and thus provoked the Emperor Claudius

to suppress both their order and their superstition, in the province of Gaul, which he did effectually, about the middle of the first century, by means similar to those adopted in England for suppressing the Papal priesthood and doctrines. After they were so banished from Gaul, the Druids made the island of Anglesea their stronghold, and continued their agitation against the Roman government in Britain, until they were destroyed, and their superstition suppressed by Paulinus Suetonius, about sixty years after the Christian Era. They continued, in Scotland, and in Ireland, for many centuries after, until they disappeared when Christianity was established.

The Druids were bound by a vow of celibacy. Certain orders of them lived a monastic life, in colleges, to which the Papal monasteries bear a close resemblance. Many lived as solitary hermits, in remote woods, and forests, and led an ascetic life, as the Christian hermits did in subsequent ages. There were three orders of Druidesses. and most revered, were bound by a vow to perpetual virginity; were sequestered from the world, and lived together in sisterhoods, like the nuns in modern convents, and were held in great veneration by the The second order were devotees, who were allowed to marry, and have occasional intercourse with their husbands; but whose duty it was to wait, with devotion, on the Druids. Analogous to these, there are devotees in the laity of the Papal Church -most frequently females-who enter into certain orders, and, affecting superior sanctity, go to mass and to confession more frequently than other people; fast more strictly; pray, and use their beads more constantly; and belong to one or more orders, according to the intensity of their devoutness; of some I have heard it said, that they belonged to the nine orders, which imported a high degree of sanctity.

The Druids, in number, bore about the same ratio to the population, in each country where they ruled, as the Papal clergy, including the monastic orders, have borne in subsequent times. They exacted their dues from the people, not by force of a municipal law, but by threats of an excommunication, with which that of the Papal Church is, in its effects, nearly identical. In this way they raised a very large revenue, entirely independent of the temporal sovereign; and they disposed of this revenue. not for state purposes, but according to their own regulations, and in support of their own order and worship, free from all other control. To enforce the annual and regular payment of their dues, they, at the approach of winter, commanded all families to extinguish their fires, on the last night in October, and to attend at their altars, the next day, and pay their dues, as a condition precedent to the liberty of rekindling the fires from the sacred flame that burned on the altar. To kindle them, in any other way, was punished with excommunication; and a friend or neighbour who should assist in so kindling them, was exposed to the same penalty. Persons excommunicated were thereby excluded from all sacrifices and religious rites; were held in universal

detestation, as impious and accursed; their company was avoided; they could hold no trust or honour = were put out of the protection of the laws, and had no redress for any wrong or injury; and to helpthem, or hold intercourse with them, was to become liable to the same punishment. Similar consequences attended excommunication by the Papal clergy, in countries where they were dominant, and have done so, even in Ireland, within my own The Druids claimed the exclusive right memory. of teaching youth, and had schools wholly under their own management and direction, to which alone it was lawful for children to resort. Their fame for learning was as great, in their age, as that of the Jesuits was in the seventeenth century. They prescribed holy-days as numerous as are found in the Roman Calendar. They were the sole interpreters of religious doctrines; and of these they had one for the priesthood, and one for the people—one was wrapped in mysterious verses, which it was unlawful to write, lest they should get into the hands of the laity; and another doctrine was taught by them as one suitable to lay disciples. These mysterious verses were so numerous, that twenty years were spent in getting them by heart—they were preserved by tradition alone, and perished with the priesthood to whose knowledge and memory they were confined. What doctrines these verses contained are therefore unknown to posterity. far the retention of the Bible from the hands of the laity, and the substitution of Catholic teaching. corresponds with the like retention of the Druidical

verses and teaching of Druidical doctrine, is worth considering, and certainly is remarkable. They had schools for students intended for the priesthood alone, and no other students were admitted to them. These students were restrained from intercourse with any but the Druids, their teachers, and were carefully secluded from the world, during the probationary course. Though we know not the particulars of their theology, it is certain that they persuaded the people to believe, that human sacrifice was necessary to propitiate the favour, or to avert the rage of their The wicker idol, of colossal size, filled with living men, women, and children, and burned in the presence of the people, while pregnant with these hapless victims of a ghastly superstition, was a great religious ceremony, and, however incredibly hideous. stands recorded upon evidence which cannot be doubted The auto da fè of the Spanish Inquisition was also a solemn religious ceremony, which it was a duty and a merit to witness, and for attending which the Pope granted an indulgence of forty days to every spectator. It also became a grand popular spectacle, at which the king and queen, the nobility, gentry, and people of both sexes, and all ages, attended, as a great public entertainment. The most remarkable of these spectacles, for the number and rank of the victims, Philip the Second accepted as a public fête, in honour, and for the gratification of his young and beautiful French bride, who attended it, as one of the festivities in celebration of her marriage.

The Druids were intolerant of every other religion or priesthood; and amalgamation of their system, or the co-existence of it with any other, was impracticable. Contest with them, therefore, was internecine war. When Paulinus Suetonius gained the victory, he burned them in the fires which they had prepared for his soldiers, had they been the victors. They claimed authority, by divine right, over the rest of mankind; reconciliation with them, on any other terms than submission to them, was impossible. They were peculiarly the priesthood of the Celtic tribes, for Cæsar says the Germans had no Druids. Whatever means they used to propagate their doctrines, the people embraced and clung to them with fanatical attachment.

Had the Emperor, therefore, adopted the policy of reconciliation, where reconcilement was impossible,—had he sent messages of peace, and taken the Druids into alliance with his Government—had he disestablished and disendowed the Imperial institutions, and confiscated the property allotted for their support—had he abolished State colleges and schools, because they were badges of conquest, and, therefore, offensive to the Druids and their disciples, and set up a system of National education under their patronage and control-had he established and endowed a Druidical college, solely for education of the priestly order, in which the mystic verses were to be studied, and learned by heart—had he, by a trenchant law, cut down, as a baleful upas tree, the hated State establishment of an opposing creed-had he levelled down and demolished, where constitutional law, or party expediency forbade him to level up-had he acted on the visionary principle of equalizing all religions, where one assumed a right divine to be regarded as the only true religion, and to destroy all dissenters from their doctrines, as enemies of God-no reasonable man can doubt, that the Druids, and their agitators, would have continued an enduring thorn, to rankle in the side of the empire, as long as the empire existed, unless they could succeed in their efforts to exterminate all infidels, and thus to become despotically dominant. If history be of any use, that of the Druids contains an instructive lesson not as teaching us to revive persecution, but as warning us to avoid a mistaken course, by helping the Papal priesthood to regain the power which they have abused. Sooner or later, this truckling policy, if continued, must end in submission to a debasing hierocracy, or in civil war to resist it. History, which records the cruelties inflicted in exterminating the Druids, records also that their fanaticism left no other means of escaping from their degrading superstition and tyranny.

It has been stated how the system of National Schools was devised in 1831, in the hope that they would, like the touch of Minerva, dissolve the scales of ignorance, and make them, in due time, fall from the eyes of the illiterate poor, and enable them to distinguish gods from men, and how those schools have been perverted to the end of fastening the scales more firmly than ever, and of confirming pre-existing delusions, by which men were imposed for gods upon human credulity.

By the electioneering influence which the abuse of these schools enabled the Papal priesthood to propagate, they have perverted another State measure to an end directly opposed to that for which it well designed.

In 1704 the Irish Parliament earnestly solicited union of the two countries, as the only means redressing the crushing grievance of special legislation for Ireland, by which every party dominant powerful in England made laws which blasted for their own selfish ends all hopes of peace or prosperity in this country. This scandalous and wicked legislation has been one hundred times exposed and severely censured; and recently, with more than former power and ability, by Mr. Froude. I shall therefore waste no words in further commenting upon it.

That Union which was thus solicited by a patriotice Irish parliament, and rejected under the corrupt influence of English monopolists, was forced upon Ireland in 1800, by a great statesman who took an enlightened view of Imperial interests. I shall make no observations upon, and least of all, will I express any approval of, the means by which this great Imperial measure was achieved. I rejoice that it was achieved, and I regret that party policy is making it, every day, more difficult to maintain it.

The enlightened statesman who accomplished that Union thereby intended to harmonize the voices of discordant races; to amalgamate and blend reciprocally repulsive elements; to bring both Kingdoms under one legislature, and to establish one code of laws by gradually obliterating the few differences which separate Parliaments had created; to reconcile

sing sects, by removing religious disabilities; to promote prosperity by relaxing commercial aints.

was intended, that emancipation of Roman colics should immediately follow the Act of Union. an obstacle started up which the Prime Minister overlooked, and emancipation was indefinitely poned.

or twenty-nine years the discussion of that quesboth in Parliament and out of it, engrossed the ation of contending parties.

uring that long time the event was in jeopardy, the Papal priesthood were kept on their good viour. In the Parliament which passed this desired Act in 1829, there were very few, if members indebted for their seats to priestly ence, and of the interference of priests at electron there was but little complaint. The contest rally was between the advocates and the oppos of emancipation. The property qualification members existed. Roman Catholics were exed; and the candidates were all men of property, personally respected.

ne rejection, in the House of Lords, of the Emanion Bill of 1825, with its wings, insulted and ged the Roman Catholics, and so stimulated and ased the power of their leaders, that they were to get up the scenic exhibition of force at the election, by which the Ministry were intimil, and emancipation was extorted in 1829.

Connell and his followers, who got into Parliat by this Act, were for a long time but a small force in the House. His persuasive eloquence, and great power in debate, secured attention and respect for him, but he had equal abilities then opposed to him amongst the Irish Members, and was often worsted.

What was called his tail were neither numerous nor powerful, and having increased in number, and become loud in debate, they acquired the ironical designation of the Irish Brass Band, whose operations produced more noise than work. For many years, and until recently, the Irish members, being divided, neutralized each other, and produced Zero as the re-This was the political effect of emancipation for many years, during which the children in the National Schools were successively, year by year, becoming men, with power to vote, and power to wield a bludgeon, and throw stones, at an election. They had, in the schools, when credulous children, learned to fear the spiritual power of the priests, and every day's experience gave them reason to fear temporal evil also, and hope for temporal benefits from their power on earth. The number of pledged members, which they were thus able to return, increased, with constantly accelerated rapidity, until they have attained a number sufficient to determine who is to be the Prime Minister of England, by simply uniting with parties who have cognate views, and congenial sentiments upon great social questions in Great Britain, with which the designs of the Papal priesthood, and their partisans upon Irish property. and Irish institutions do not interfere.

The great argument, and the only one of logical

force used by those who opposed emancipation was, that whatever political power should be bestowed upon Roman Catholics would pass into the hands of the priests, and would by them be used, as it ever had been before, against the rights, the liberties, and, if they could, finally against the lives of all who dissented from their doctrine and repudiated their authority. That their objects and organization were unchanged, and that the temper and dispositions depending on thirst of dominion, and on conscious power would still remain; therefore, that it was as unsafe to depend on the gentleness which they exhibited, while under restraint, as it would be to trust in the apparent tameness of a caged tiger, and set him at liberty to resume his natural ferocity. This argument was derided; and it is now fairly asked-are not passing events recalling it to memory, in all its logical force, whatever that may be?

The savage cruelties of this organized priesthood in past ages had been sinking into oblivion, and from the beginning of the present century were but little remembered to the prejudice of the modern priesthood. They were rapidly gaining the confidence of fellow-subjects of opposing creeds, and this confidence at last produced the Emancipation Act, which restored municipal and political power to their congregation. Has that power been independently exercised by those who alone were constitutionally entitled to use it? Or has it been, in violation of the constitution, by priestly intimidation, by force, and by fraud, transferred to, and usurped by those who ought not to have it? Let these questions be candidly answered—I ask no more.

The members whose seats depend on the will of the priests, have now the same power of dictating – special laws for Ireland, which English landlords and their English tenants, and which English manufacturers, and English merchants, had in former times. The result is, that the union of the nations has been perverted into a combination of political parties, and the letter, as well as the spirit of the union compact, has been ruthlessly violated.

The Church of Ireland has been disestablished by a___ proceeding similar to the winding up of a joint-stock company, and the distribution of its assets; except that of these only a small fraction is given to the beneficial owners, beyond the houses of worship, the means of supporting which they are left to provide The property which had beer as best they can. granted, and for three hundred years enjoyed for the maintenance of an independent clergy and a rationa and tolerant religion, has been confiscated, and no provision left for the successors of the present clergy -The incomes of these are in no way diminished; the are paid with more promptitude, more certainty, and less trouble than they ever were before. The presen incumbents have no motive to action in behalf of their successors; and the spirit of their religion, and every principle of Protestant doctrine, forbids any effort to create spiritual terrors in the minds of the rising generation, to enable the destitute future clergy to promote voluntary contributions, and to enforce payment of dues. All prospect of promotion is taken away from the existing clergy, and there is now no such stimulus to a laborious and zealous performance of clerical duty. Degradation from the former rank

of State clergy must be sensibly felt, and must create a disposition to retire from a degraded position. We must, therefore, not be surprised if some shall seek occasions, and make arrangements for departing from their cures, and carrying their incomes to England and elsewhere, to enjoy them in privacy. The measure is thus calculated to damage the Irish Church, by the affectation of respect for the vested rights of the clergy. However, I hope the instances will be few, if any, in which the clergy will act like saturated ravens, and wing a lazy flight to some sequestered retreat, to digest their meal in drowsy inclence. If they do not, it will not be because they have not been led into temptation.

The Papal Church is differently treated. The only Part of its assets over which the State had any control was the annual grant to the Maynooth College. This has been dealt with by a present payment of Fourteen times the annual amount. The revenue by which the Roman Catholic clergy have been supported is independent of the State, is left untouched, and all the powers to enforce payment of it The State having nothing to do left undiminished. with the appointment or promotion of the Papal clergy, no ambitious motive to zealous performance of duty has been taken away. The measure which degraded the Protestant clergy elevated the Papal clergy to an eminence which they had not before. and to which they have no just or reasonable pretentions. The extortion from the legislature of this Act, by which to ruin the rival State church, is such a proof of their political power as to make it irresistible.

It is a mockery to assert that all this has been done to establish religious equality. No law, passed at the dictation of selfish English parties, was ever more effectual for crushing the manufactures, or crippling the commerce of Ireland, than this law is for crushing the Protestant religion in this country, and for giving towering supremacy to the Pap all Church.

Laws made in England by a junto of parties, and exclusively affecting the rights and the property certain classes in Ireland, are, in all their effects, iron, and an oppressive rule, imposed by an alignower, upon conquered subjects, against their will and because they have not the power to resist the They bear no resemblance to the laws which it will intended, and expected should emanate from Imperial legislature, impartially and equally affecting all subjects, without regard to their geographic position, on this side or on that of the channel, over which the Act of Union was intended to be a bridger making one country of both, for all the purposes government and legislation.

The banding together of a Ministry, supported by parties alien to Ireland, all, except the priestly contingent of Irish representatives—the arrogant assumption by that Ministry of a right to pronounce, that long established institutions in this country, to which their priestly allies are hostile, constitute "a tall tree of noxious growth, lifting its head to heaven, and darkening, and poisoning the land, as far as its shadow can extend," and that the extirpation of this imaginary Upas tree is their special mission, for the fulfilment of which they are so "banded together," is

the end at which the perverted Union has arrived. This combination of English parties and certain Irish members, is, in no possible view of it, analogous to the united Parliament, which the independent legislatures of the two kingdoms, by solemn treaty and compact, agreed to constitute, on terms carefully considered, and clearly expressed, which each nation pledged itself never to violate.

The Church, which was stigmatized as a branch of the Upas tree, and has been lopped accordingly, was peculiarly the church open for public worship to those who repudiate an inquisitorial right of the clergy, or of any fellow men, or of any human tribunal, to pry into the conscience of any worshipper, and compel him to declare, in terms, the precise creed, to which by education, or by the use of reason, he has become attached. It was the Church of those who can kneel beside a neighbour, without knowing. or inquiring, whether he is a Publican or a Pharisee. It was the Church of those who can unite in adoraion and public worship of the Almighty Ruler of the ncomprehensible universe, before described, and can o unite, even with a neighbour of whom they know, hat his creed differs in some unessential particulars rom their own, as his face also differs from theirs; and who yet can love that neighbour, without precisely agreeing with his creed, as they may love him. for his virtues, although they cannot admire his face. It was the Church of those who three hundred years ago fought for this liberty of conscience through seas of blood, and to secure it, devoted sufficient property for support of an independent ministry, who

should not be goaded by necessity, or tempted b interest, to invade, and by insidious teaching t undermine, the liberty of so joining in public worship and of putting up an humble prayer for mercy, with out thanking God, that they are "not even as othe= men are." Confiscation of this property destroys the very essence of this church; and proclaims to the clergy of every sect, that they must get hold of the children, as soon as they can understand the meaning of words, and teach them a theology by which submission and payment of dues to the clergy is made essential to salvation. Unless they do this, it will be vain to hope that the voluntary contributions of the reflecting few who think that an independent provision for the clergy is of such importance as to demand a sacrifice of private property, sufficient to purchase a permanent provision equal to that which has been taken away and confiscated. That provision though large, in total amount, was not more than sufficient, if fairly and justly distributed, to afford a competent maintenance, in their proper rank, for well qualified and laborious ministers, independent of congregational dues. It would probably be found, on investigation, that the provision so made for the clergy of this Church was but a fraction of that which the papal clergy obtain by force of the doctrines which they teach. Experience is already fast disclosing the character of the peace which this confiscation of vested property is certain to produce.

What was abusively designated as Irish landlordism was another branch of the Upas tree, and the first incision has been made upon it by the Land Act,

which has no operation in England, and which probably affects but few, if any, of the Irish members who voted for it. I will simply state one of the latest decisions upon it, a decision too which has been affirmed by the novel tribunal, specially created, as the court of dernier ressort, for the interpretation of this experimental law. It appears that the tenant was not one of those illiterate poor men who might be forced to take the land, on any terms he could get, or turn with his starving family for shelter to the poor-house. He is stated to be a clergyman, I therefore presume he was not either ignorant or destitute; but intelligent, and on equal footing with the landlord he was dealing with.

On 24th September, 1867, Lord Leitrim, by a written agreement, let to the Rev. Samuel B. Stevenson, and the said Rev. S. B. Stevenson agreed to take a house and farm described in the agreement as, "All that messuage or tenement, with the barns, stables, out-houses, yards, gardens, and appurtenances thereto belonging, and also all those several closes, pieces, or parcels of land, or ground, containing seventy-seven acres," situate in the county of Donegal, commencing from the 1st November, 1866, as tenant from year to year, determinable by six months' notice to quit, ending on either of the gale days, thereinafter mentioned, at the yearly rent of £18 15s., payable half-yearly, in equal sums, on the 1st of May and 1st November, in every year, over and above all taxes and charges; the first half-year's rent to be due and payable on the 1st of May, 1867. The agreement contained several special provisions, which do not affect the question in dispute. It also contained the following words, viz. :- "That he (the tenant) shall not assign, sublet, let in con-acre, or for a crop, or sub-divide for grazing, or part with the possession of the said land or any part thereof." And at the termination of his tenancy, shall leave

and yield up the buildings, &c., in good order and condition.

The tenancy and rent commenced from the 1st November, 1866, because Mr. Stevenson had been in possession under a previous letting to terminate which, a notice to quit was pending, and no rent had been paid after that day, and the possession had not

been disturbed.

In the locality of this farm, a custom existed called tenantright custom, "whereby the tenant in occupation, on being about to be evicted or disturbed by act of his landlord, or to quit his holding, was permitted to sell his interest, commonly called his tenant-right in his holding, subject to the rent to which he is liable (or such fairly valued rent as shall be settled from time to time), to any solvent tenant to whom the landlord shall not make reasonable objection, or on resumption of said holding by the landlord, or if the landlord has indicated his intention to resume the same, is entitled to the value of said tenant-right interest, as if sold to said solvent tenant."

This description of the custom is copied verbatim from the tenant's claim submitted to the Court in his printed statement.

At the time of the agreement, in 1867, there was nothing to enforce the observance of this custom on the landlord, except the law of public opinion. He had absolute legal power to terminate the tenancy, by a notice to quit, and to evict the tenant, altogether disregarding the custom, and the tenant had no redress either in a Court of Law, or Court of Equity.

In three years after the commencement of this tenancy, the "Land Act," in general terms, made the custom binding on landlords.

In August, 1871, Lord Leitrim served a notice to quit, which would expire and entitle him to resume the possession on the 1st of May, 1872, and it was not denied that on that day he would be entitled to take it, and that the tenant was bound to give it up. But the tenant insisted that the custom by force of the "Land Act of 1870," gave him a right to compel the landlord to pay him such a price as he could get from a solvent tenant for "his interest, commonly called his tenant-right." The question in the case was, whether the covenant by which he had bound himself not to assign, sublet, or part the possession of the farm, or any part of it, left him any interest for which any man would give a price. The him any interest for which any man would give a price. notice to quit limited his right of possession to the 1st of May, 1872. On that day his written contract, in express words, bound him to give peaceable possession to his landlord, and it also bound him, in the meantime, not to part with that possession. What valuable interest, therefore, had he to transfer which any purchaser could consider worth a farthing? Yet this was "the interest, commonly called his tenant-right," for which on being served with the notice to quit, he demanded £350 from his landlord, and for which three courts successively decreed to him a sum of £254, to be paid for this palpably worthless tenant-right by his landlord.

In every part of Ireland, both before and since the passing of the Land Act, every yearly tenant, not restrained by express contract, had, and still has, a perfect legal right to sell and to assign his estate and interest, as a yearly tenant, to any stranger, whether solvent or not, and whether his landlord had consented or not. and may deliver the possession to that stranger, and take whatever price he can get for it. If the landlord objects to such a transfer of the possession, his only remedy is to serve a notice to

quit, and evict the tenancy.

In some parts of Ulster, and in the locality of the farm in ques-

tion, this liberty was, before the Act, restricted in certain cases, by the force of public opinion, and is now restricted by the Act. But before the Act, and now, by the terms of the Act, a yearly tenant entitled to the benefit of the custom may sell, and the landlord may lawfully buy off the existing tenant-right, and free the land for ever from it. Before and since the Act, he may, when letting the land, set it free from the custom, by express contract with the tenant; and no one can suggest a more effectual contract by which to destroy the right to sell and transfer the possession, than that by which the tenant binds himself not to assign, and not to part with the possession of any part of the land; by which contract he surrenders everything saleable or transferable. When the landlord consents to let, which he need not do if he pleases, he may make the letting itself the price of the tenant-right, and the consideration to the tenant for giving it up. It is easy to believe, that the letting, even from year to year, of a dwellinghouse, barns, stables, outhouses, yards, and gardens, with 77 acres of land, at a rent of £18 15s. a year, may be accepted as a full and valuable consideration to any tenant for binding himself, as Mr. Stevenson did, not to exercise his tenant-right, and for giving up the liberty of transferring the tenancy, or parting the possession, which liberty is the essence of the tenantright; for this right means nothing, if the liberty of parting the possession be destroyed by the contract.

It is not alleged that the tenant, in this case, spent anything in improving the buildings or the lands. The tenancy bestowed upon him, without any fine, in 1867, was valued in November, 1871, by himself, at £350, and by the Court at £254. In November, 1871, the buildings had suffered ordinary and necessary wear and tear, during the five years that the tenancy had continued. It is, therefore, proved by his claim, and by the judgment of the Court, that he got, in 1867, what was worth at least £254 of his landlord's property, for consenting to become a yearly

tenant, restricted as his contract restricted him.

According to the construction of the Land Act, by three Courts successively, the last being the Court of dernier ressort, created by this Act, and from which there is no appeal, the result, to the landlord, of a letting made by him to a yearly tenant, in 1867, is simply this; the tenancy continued for five years and a half, from the 1st November, 1866, to the 1st of May, 1872, when the notice to quit expired. For the use and occupation, enjoyed by the tenant during these five and a half years, the landlord received, as rent, £103 2s. 6d. By an Act, specially passed for Ireland, three years after the contract of these parties was made, a new provision is imported into it, without the consent of the landlord, by which the tenant is entitled to get from the landlord £254, over and above the value of the occupation, which was the only thing he bargained for, as a consideration for the rent. Thus the landlord is forced, by a law, made ex post facto, to refund all the rent and to pay his tenant £150 17s. 6d. besides. He is further forced to pay the costs of three trials, in which, by his counsel, he endeavoured to show, that this could not be the meaning of a law enacted by the British Legislature. His own costs in this suit, and the costs which he must pay to his adversary, cannot be much less than £250, and may be more.

In this matter of costs also, this case is peculiar. It is a case of the first impression, in the construction of a new Act—an Act too, in derogation of vested rights—a question of great difficulty, which the Judges of Assize were unwilling to take the moral responsibility of deciding, and on which the Court of Appeal called for a second argument—a question of great public importance; for the decision of which, the same court thought it necessary to call in the assistance of additional members of the court, to hear the second argument—so uncertain also, that two of nine judges entirely differed from the rest, and would have decided in favour of the landlord—a case also in which the tenant had demanded £96 more than the Court awarded. I do not remember any case in which a defendant was condemned to pay the costs of both sides, where so many reasons existed to justify the contest. I must therefore believe that the Act contains some provision coercive on the judges as to costs although I cannot find it. Thus by letting his house, offices, and land, and suffering a tenant to use and enjoy them for five and a half years, the landlord loses in money numbered over and above the rent received which he must refund £400, which £400 he would have saved, had he left the farm to the rooks, in place of letting it in 1867.

Including the rent received, (which is as justly his own as any other money in his bank) he is forced to pay for restoration of his land, over £500 which exceeds twenty-six years' purchase of the rent. This would buy for him a perpetual annuity, perfectly secured, for ever, of £20, or more, paid to the day, without being demanded, and without any danger of being shot.

Such is what seven judges, out of nine, have conclusively decided to be the sovereign will of the Mortal Gods, to whom the perverted Union gives the power of making special laws for Ireland!

Of justice for Ireland, emanating from the Mortal Gods, who enact special laws for her, this is a specimen, in the year 1872; see an *immortal* picture of the same justice, in 1866, in that year's volume of *Punch* page 40.

Is not Ireland entitled to cry aloud for Repeal of

the Union!! But what Union? Not the Union of the Nations, in a prosperous Empire; but the perverted and spurious Union, the wicked Union of parties, banded together for political strife, of which Ireland has been made the suffering battlefield, for centuries.

By these two special laws for Ireland, the property of the Irish Church has been confiscated, and the property of the landlords has been to a serious, but as yet unascertained extent, transferred to tenants, without any consideration, and in a way which makes a lawsuit necessary, in every case, to determine the amount to which the tenant is entitled. These suits are to be, in the first instance, decided by one of about forty judges, each unconnected with, and wholly independent of the rest. There is an appeal, first to the Judge of Assize; and, at his discretion, a further appeal to an uncertain quorum of sixteen other judges, but the Judge of Assize, if he thinks fit, may finally decide the case.

These Acts were passed to appease agitation in Ireland. The rich legislators who enacted them do not appear to have calculated what their effects may be upon the minds of agitators, whose number is legion, in England.

On Sunday, the 5th of January, 1873, a meeting was held in Grafton Hall, Soho, to consider a programme for the formation of a "Central British Democratic Convention." This programme defined fourteen distinct objects to be pursued by the Convention. The third of these is to establish manhood suffrage, and that the Members of Parliament be paid salaries

The fourth was to abolish the second chamber of the legislature, viz., the House of Lords. The fifth is to disestablish, and disendow all State Churches, and to nationalize, i.e., to confiscate all church and college property, and open all colleges wider for the children of labour. The sixth is to nationalize the land, viz., to confiscate the property in his land of every owner, whether landlord or tenant, in the three kingdoms, and then to divide it, giving no man more than fifty acres. The ninth is to reduce taxation, and to reduce the national debt (this cannot be by payment, when taxation, the only source of payment, is to be reduced). To reduce the army and navy, i.e., to reduce the force by which life and property are now protected from violence and spoliation; and the tenth is to arm, and to instruct in arms, the manhood of the nation; which means, to increase the power of aggression, when the power of resistance is diminished.

The expressed object of this Convention is, "to create a force from the combined opinions and determination of millions of the toiling classes of these islands, sufficient to effect a restoration of," what they call, "their plundered lands."

All this is certainly extravagant, and to many will appear, perhaps, ridiculous. But there is in it one small item, like the little cloud which in tropical climates appears above the horizon, when all the rest of the hemisphere is clear, and which small cloud portends an approaching hurricane. That item suggests the return of paid members to the House of Commons. No property qualification is now necessary. By the household suffrage conferred in 1867.

the trades unions, numerous and organized as they are, in all parts of both countries, have a much larger power, if they can only unite in using it, than the priests, of returning members to the House. wages which they have, for some years, been getting, enable them to take two or three idle days in every week, and to earn as much as they want in the remaining three or four days. This is one of the results of their unions. By returning to their former habit of working full time, they may produce a fund more than ample to pay salaries to such members as the household franchise enables them to return. To assume that they have power to return one hundred for England and Scotland, is short of the truth. They may with certainty reckon on the co-operation of the priestly contingent from Ireland, and on the home rulers, repealers of the Union, and Fenians. If sixty or seventy united Irish members have power to embarrass any Ministry, and force them into subjection, it is not easy to see how a government can resist a combination of 170 members. supposes that the trades unions do not see this, undervalues their sagacity. They do see it; and this is what they allude to, when they say that they have got in the thin end of the wedge. Their organization is not yet as perfect as it may, and, too probably, will be; it must have more time to operate; but what it tends to is very clear.

In demanding laws for the confiscation of property and the abrogation of vested rights, the party of Democrats will have the Church Act, the Land Act, and possibly the Act for disendowing and disestablishing Trinity College, to quote, as precedents, for exercising the *power* of the legislature, in contempt of proprietary rights and justice.

When the Reform Bill was under discussion in 1867, Mr. John Bright asked the aristocracy what they were afraid of from the working people? He asked this question much in the tone of the master in a swimming school, addressing a timid boy, who hesitates to take a plunge from the plank. There is reason to fear that owners of property will soon learn by experience what should have been the answer to the question. The Democratic Convention gives the answer; but it comes too late, the plunge has been taken, and we must abide the consequence, which will probably, if not quite certainly, be more disastrous to the now rampant working classes themselves than to the owners of property, now apparently at their mercy.

There are in England and Wales twenty two millions of people now consuming beef and mutton, at a shilling a pound, which extravagant price the Irish farmers are receiving, and growing rich and wanton upon it. Of this beef and mutton "the toiling millions," upon whose combined opinions and force the Convention relies, consume a full share, and the prosperity and high wages of these toiling millions is the true cause of the high prices of all the necessaries and comforts of life. The trade and commerce, and manufactures, carried on by wealth and capital, created competition for the labour of those millions, and has raised their wages. There are toiling millions, of equal power, and equal inge-

nuity, in Belgium, France, Germany and other countries, to whom the trade, and commerce, and manufactures will fly from the broils, and social wars now threatened by the wanton British millions who cannot let well alone. Thus the toiling millions are much more likely to get a bitter lesson in the school of experience, than they are to get the land of these islands, or the property of the fund-owners, or the wealth and capital of their employers, which they are now eagerly thirsting for.

The frequent strikes of workmen for high wages have made it necessary for employers, to protect themselves by a provision in their contracts, not to be bound to complete the work within time, if disabled by a strike of their workmen. I have been informed, upon what I believe good authority, that a contract for work, amounting to £100,000, was recently withheld from an English manufacturer, and given to one in Belgium, because this cautionary provision could not safely be given up. I know not to what extent the strikes are thus stealthily drying up the source of English manufacturing and commercial wealth, by which its toiling millions have been attracted to it, and multiplied. That they are so numerous, aggravates the danger to them of a reverse; which expiring contracts, and the transfer of new contracts to foreign countries may bring about more suddenly than they expect. The special laws which one party in Ireland, by organized agitation, has been able to extort from the legislature, have excited similar agitation, for cognate objects, in England; which effect is a cumulative imperial evil, beyond the injustice done to the weaker party, affected unjustly by those special laws, enacted against them.

In the approaching session the subject of higher education in Ireland (as a third branch of the already mutilated upas tree) is expected to be a principal part of the Ministerial work; and it is a subject which involves national and personal interests of greater importance even than the Church or the land. It involves freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, and the development, or repression of the highest faculties of man. It will be a contest between the friends and the foes of the Reformation. it are the organized and well disciplined Papal clergy; the friends are divided into sects, some as hostile to others, as any of them are to the Papal Church, with which not a few of them are allied in the work of special legislation for Ireland.

The demands of the Papal clergy, on this subject of higher education, were clearly explained by the Rev. Mr. Woodlock, Rector of the Roman Catholic University, in Stephen's-green, on Monday, the 25th of November last, at the inauguration of the session of 1872–1873; at which Cardinal Cullen presided, and many of the Roman Catholic clergy were present, and some of the laity, including one of the members for Dublin, and the member for Limerick, who do not profess to be Roman Catholics. A charter is demanded for a Roman Catholic University, conferring privileges as high as those of Trinity College, and an equal endowment also. He said if this be granted, "they do not ask to have any

ution despoiled" which meets the educational sof their fellow countrymen. But as they ask nemselves no exceptional advantages, they will nger tolerate them in others. He said, "If you lators) will not level up, in accordance with the ses of political justice, and expediency, you level down—Irish Catholics must get equality, ask no more—they will be content with no

is is not the language of supplication and petiit is the language of military command, and
nant power. If you will not charter and endow
'niversity, you must degrade and despoil yourown!
is new University, a "truly Catholic education"
be administered, and no other—it must be
nogeneous" i.e. unmixed. "It must proceed
ding to one guiding principle, from beginning to

He said "he would be false to the teachings catholic Church, were he to deny that moral ocial virtues are found in those who have not appiness of being members of the true Church" epetition of the Catholic catechism, that there is ne true Church, coupled with a stingy admistrat moral and social virtues of some sort (sed quantaeque sint querite, boni) are found in some do not belong to it.

the Government and Legislature be not bound eld implicit and unreasoning obedience to this cious command, they cannot ignore the duty of ring what the tendency and effect will be of that ly Catholic education," and of that "one guiding iple," which must pervade it, before they charter and endow an university exclusively for it. that teaching, and that pervading principle will be be learned only by consulting authentic history, a observing what they always have been, in every count where they have had, what is now demanded, "f liberty for the use of Catholic books and religion emblems, and for the performance of religious ex cises, free from all obstructions, with power in t clergy to remove all objectionable books, and all h Roman Catholic teachers." The Rev. Rector to credit for not demanding a transfer to his University of the privileges which now belong to that system education, without religion, which he said, "in t noble capital of a neighbouring country, destroyed, a while, all law and order, and well nigh subvert the foundations of society." The system here alluc to is that of the Queen's University; and the destr tion of order in the neighbouring country, alludes the French Revolution. I leave the Alumni of Queen's University to defend themselves; they to be found in all stages, from the junior freshman the senior counsel, in the front rank of the B Doctors in the medical profession; and officers in civil service, both at home and abroad. system in which they have been educated is charg with promoting anarchy and confusion, some bet proof of the imputation should be given, than bald assertion, that it is the same as that which cau the atrocities in the French Revolution.

The allegation, that education, without religion, j duced those atrocities, has too long passed curr counterfeit, as it is, and contrary to the truth.

so-called philosophers, whose writings are supposed to have stirred up the populace in France, fell into the grave mistake of believing in the perfectability of the human race, and the still greater mistake of selecting the people of France for a trial of their ex-The lower orders then in France, and periment. their ancestors, for a thousand years, had been oppressed by Feudal tyrants, and debased by supersti-When their sufferings had tion and priest-craft. reached the limits of human endurance, their ears were opened, and they listened eagerly to those who exposed the foul practices upon them, to which they attributed the miseries of the people. When the fury of this depraved populace was excited, they had no feelings of humanity, to restrain them from ferocious brutality. The philosophers, who roused them, were themselves among the first victims of their When their eyes had been opened to the gross rage. absurdities which they had been taught to believe, their ignorance and fury drove them to the opposite extremes, and a blind and brutish atheism took the place of superstition. These savages had never been subjected to education, without religion, but they had been blinded by superstition (miscalled religion) without any but a Catholic education. their ancestors, for many generations, had Catholic teaching, in all its plenitude, and they had received it

with credulous docility. It was Catholic teaching which hounded them to massacre the Huguenots, on St. Bartholomew's day, in 1573. It was Catholic teaching which prompted the wicked queen and her treacherous son, King Charles, to conspire with their

Catholic courtiers, and Catholic priests, and the Pope himself, for the perpetration of that sanguinary massacre. The Pope ordered a public thanksgiving, and sung Te Deum for that unprovoked murder of innocent subjects, who had been decoyed by the caresses and promises of the crafty and treacherous King into the toils which he had set for them, and of which they had no suspicion, until the assassins were set upon them by the priests. That Pope had had the "fulness of distinctive religious and Catholic education," and his Te Deum for the massacre was one of its fruits.

Catholic teaching had previously produced the slaughter of the Albigenses; and it subsequently produced the murders committed, by thousands, in the Netherlands, by the Catholic Duke of Alva, wielding the sword of the Catholic King of Spain—the most docile disciple that ever lived of orthodox Catholic teaching. I shall transcribe just one of the lessons administered to him by a Master in that school.

As a preparation for this lesson, when Philip was sending Alva to the Netherlands, with a Catholic army, to exterminate his Protestant subjects, Pope Pious the V. wrote to him, "conjuring him not to falter in the good cause, and to allow no harm to the Catholic faith, but to march against his rebellious vassals, at the head of his army, and wash out the stain of heresy in the blood of the heretic." In answer to which, the pliant pupil apologized for his previous lenity, and promised, in confidence, that he would act more vigorously. A memorial had been

prepared, at the King's suggestion, touching the state of the country, by Fray Lorenzo, an Augustin monk, and was presented to Philip, before Alva had departed for the Netherlands. It was a lesson in these terms:—

"Since your Majesty holds the sword which God has given to you, with the divine power over our lives, let it be drawn from the scabbard and plunged in the blood of the heretics, if you do not wish that the blood of Jesus Christ, shed by these barbarians, and the blood of the innocent Catholics, whom they have oppressed, should cry aloud to Heaven for vengeance on the sacred head of your Majesty! The holy King David showed no pity for the enemies He slew them, sparing neither man nor of God. Moses and his brother, in a single day, deswoman. troyed three thousand of the children of Israel. angel, in one night, put to death more than sixty thousand enemies of the Lord. Your Majesty is a King, like David; like Moses, a captain of the people of Jehovah; an angel of the Lord, for so the Scriptures style the kings and captains of his people; and these heretics are the enemies of the living God." (See Prescott's Philip the Second, vol. 2, p. 44, and note.) The King sent a copy of this memorial to Alva, to be placed in his hands, on his departure for the Low Countries, in which he was to be the executioner of this bloody mandate.

Mr. Lecky, in his learned History of European Morals, 2nd vol., p. 210, relates that in the reign of Constantine, Optatus urged the persecution of the Donatists, based upon a precedent, imploring him to

destroy by force the Pagan worship—that, fifteen years later, the whole Christian Church was prepared, on the same grounds, to support the persecuting policy of St. Ambrose, the contending sects having found, in the duty of crushing religious liberty, the solitary theory on which they were agreed. He relates that long after, and in the fourteenth century, "the polemical writers habitually painted, as demons, those who diverged from the orthodox beliet, and gloated with a vindictive piety, over the sufferings of the heretic upon earth, as upon a divine punishment, and sometimes, with an almost superhuman malice, passing, in imagination, beyond the threshold of the grave, exulted, in no ambiguous terms, on the tortures which they believed to be reserved for him, for ever."

In my preface to the third edition of "Roman Catholic Priests and National Schools," I published a letter from a most respectable Protestant rector, who happened to be passing on the highway, when a crowd of school girls was issuing from a Nunnery school, subject to the National Board. One pointed at him, and said, "That is old C——(meaning his curate who had died three weeks before). Another replied that is not C—— C——is in hell three weeks ago—and a warm corner he has of it"—the whole school took up the refrain, and continued singing, "A warm corner he has of it," as long as the rector was in hearing.

Here was a crowd of Young females, issuing from a NUNNERY SCHOOL, just fresh from the lessons given to them, in our own time, by Catholic teachers of the orthodox type; and, with that superhuman malice of

the fourteenth century, they too passed, in imagination, beyond the threshold of the grave, and they exulted, in no ambiguous terms, on the tortures which they had learned from Catholic teaching, to believe the Protestant curate was suffering in hell.

Since that letter was published, in the summer of last year, the Protestant rector of another parish, in the county of Dublin, informed me, that some of the Protestant children, who frequented his school, had left it, and had gone to a neighbouring Nunnery school, (which, as well as his own, was under the National Board). Music was taught in the Nunnery school, and this was the ground of preference. remonstrated with the parents, who, thereupon, withdrew their children from the Nunnery school, and restored them to that of which the rector was the patron; but the mother of one told him the girl objected to return to his school, saying, that all the children at the Nunnery school had told her she would go to hell, if she continued a Protestant. This is an occurrence of the last half-year, and this Nunnery school is only one of more than 4,000 schools. under the National Board, of which the patrons and the teachers are priests, monks, and nuns; and to one-half of which the Protestant children of the localities are forced to resort, having no other school to go to.

The massacres by the sword, the rack and the gibbet, and by the more atrocious use of fire and fagot, which, in past centuries, were perpetrated by those "who had the happiness of being members of the true Church, and the advantage of a truly

Catholic education, pervaded, from beginning to end, by that "one guiding principle," which governed it in past ages, fill countless volumes, and are still but imperfectly recorded.

The last of those volumes comes from the pen of Mr. Froude. It contains what professes to be an abridged account of the Irish massacre of 1641, and describes how the savage people were hounded against their fellow creatures, by the Papal Priests, when exhibiting the fruits of that Catholic teaching by which they had been qualified for that ministry.

It may fairly be asked, for what good purpose are these horrors of the past raked up from the dust-covered records in which they have slumbered for centuries? What has prompted Mr. Froude, and others thus to brighten the fading memory of scenes which it would be a happiness to forget?

The answer is—the priesthood, under whose reign of terror those scenes were enacted, were an organized corporation, which never dies, while its organization continues the same. Like the living body. its identity continues, by the constant accession of new particles, to replace those it loses by natural decay. That priesthood, after centuries of restraint. is now endeavouring to break its bonds, and regain the power, and the liberty to use it, which it abused. until those bonds were imposed. The present generation, who never witnessed the behaviour of this priesthood, in the days of its liberty, have no other means of estimating the use that will be made of that liberty, if restored, except the accounts which our ancestors have transmitted for our guidance, in

case the organized priesthood, from whose power they suffered, should attempt to get free from the chains which, at the expense of their blood and treasure, they, with difficulty, imposed.

This is the apology which I make for myself, when I express feelings and fears, which had no place in my breast, until excited by the events that are passing, and by the novel policy which is producing them.

Catholic teaching, with its "guiding principle," is a threatened event, which already casts its colossal shadow before it. Its heralds demand for it the endowment and the prestige of a state establishment. Those who fear it have republished appalling, but imperfect histories of its past conduct. Its guiding principle should also be detected, and clearly brought to view. That principle is to instil, and to inculcate, as a religious duty, implacable hatred of those who will not, and who cannot believe all that the Catholic Church teaches. It has fabricated the brand of heresy, by which to stigmatise them all, without distinction: it teaches that they are doomed to eternal perdition, and unmitigated torture in the life to come. When kings and rulers were its docile pupils, it inculcated the duty of slaughtering the branded victims; and they were slaughtered, in It hardens the hearts of what it calls the myriads. faithful; it has trained them in past times to regard an ota de fe "as an inspiring and delightful recreation," and in our own time, it has taught the schoolgirls to chant an exulting chorus at the imagined sufferings of the Protestant curate in hell.

By Catholic teaching, I mean that which, in all past time, has been administered, with the sanction, and subject to the control of the Papal priesthood, by their authorized subordinates of Jesuits, monks, nuns, and subservient teachers of their doctrines and creed. I have made no allusion to any scheme of education, devised and approved by educated Roman Catholic laymen, at home or abroad, and governed by those educated Roman Catholic laymen themselves, free from the interference of the priesthood, if any such system exists, or is now proposed by the Catholic laity.

Mr. George Fottrell, in a letter addressed to Lord Hartington, has published a programme of a scheme which would, he believes, be satisfactory, to most parties in Ireland. Of the good faith and sincerity in which he proposes this scheme, I entertain no doubt; and while I admit the good style and ability of his letter, I am obliged to dissent from the plan which he proposes. His scheme is strictly denominational. His university would be for Roman Catholics exclusively. He recommends it to the laity by placing a substantial number of educated and influential laymen upon the managing Board, which he calls the congregation, and which he assumes to be sufficient security against undue clerical power.

In his 13th article, page 20, he says "that the congregation should have control over the text-books to be used in the college, and also the right of deciding what new chairs, or lectureships should be established in that college, with this proviso, however, that, in all matters affecting faith and

morals, the representatives of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy on the Board of visitors should have an absolute veto."

At page 22, he says the Catholic laity would, he believes, accept the scheme, which places them on an equality with the members of other persuasions, and which, while it gives to the ecclesiastical members of the Board of visitors, a veto in matters of faith and morals (a power, he says, which the most independent Catholic would scarcely refuse them) guarantees, that the business of education shall be intrusted to those who are best qualified to conduct it, whether they happen to be laymen or clergymen."

Finally, he thinks, that the scheme would meet with the approbation of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland; for it secures to them full control over matters of faith and morals. "Less than this," he says, "they will not, and ought not, to accept. More than this they will not insist on."

On the subject of faith, the Papal hierarchy lays down, as the fourth great truth (i.e. the fourth fundamental principle of faith which it teaches to every child,) that every layman must believe all that the Catholic Church teaches, and believe it, without a doubt, because God has said it. Every book, therefore, that has a tendency to shake the pupil's belief in anything which the Catholic Church teaches, comes within the scope of the veto. One general command also is addressed to all the laity, viz.,—"You must not read Protestant books;" which may mean any books written by Protestants. It would, I think, be difficult to name one book, calculated to

enlarge, or emancipate the human mind, that may not be brought within the reach of this veto, as affecting matters of faith.

As to morals—when the Papal priesthood claim a right to dictate how a layman should vote at an election, and hold it to be a breach of morals to vote in any other way, it is impossible to say what act any layman has an independent right to do, without incurring the risk of being denied the rites of the Church, which he is taught to believe essential to his salvation. They claim a right to dictate what food he is to eat, and how often in the day he is to have a meal, and on what days he may work, and deny him the privilege of keeping to himself any act that he has done, and which they may please to call a sinful act. What book, therefore, may they not proscribe, as tending to affect the matter of morals?

But these observations I submit from the standpoint of a Roman Catholic layman.

The question now at issue deeply concerns every member of society, whatever may be his creed. It is a question of choice between two antagonistic principles, in the education of children in primary schools, and of youths in colleges of a higher grade.

One is the principle of uniting the children of all religious denominations in the same schools, as unanimously recommended by the Commissioners of 1806 and 1824, and adopted by the Government and Legislature in 1831, when the National schools of Ireland were founded upon it, in the belief "that it is only by training the youth of all persuasions in habits of early intercourse and attachment, that we

can hope to establish among them those reciprocal charities upon which the peace and harmony of society must depend."

The other is the asserted necessity of preventing something for which the barbarous name of "indifferentism" has been invented, by segregating the children and youths of all the religious sects, in separate schools and colleges, where they will not have their faith and morals endangered, by seeing that good and amiable men and children, sometimes, belong to religious persuasions different from their own, whereby persecuting bigotry may be disarmed, and reciprocal forbearance and charity may be promoted, to the prejudice of that hatred of other creeds upon which Papal and priestly domination depend for their existence. The principle which excludes the good and amiable dissenter, lest the children should look up to him, and respect him for his virtues: and which prefers crafty, subservient teachers, to instil that superhuman malignity, which prompted the school-girls to chant a jubilant chorus on the imagined sufferings of their fellow-creature in hell.

Although the National Schools were founded on the principle of progress, it is too probable, if not quite certain, that in the 4,000 of them, over which priests have dominion, as patrons, this salutary principle is practically evaded.

Although the Governors of Trinity College are all members, or ministers of the Anglican Church, yet as long as living memory can go back, they have faithfully abstained from all interference with religious convictions, and have, amongst the students of

all religious persuasions, carefully and effectually promoted friendly intercourse and attachment; and this is what is called the Protestant atmosphere which, its enemies say, it is dangerous to the faith of Roman Catholics to breathe. It is the atmosphere in which reciprocal charities bloom, and bear sweet and wholesome fruit—in which bigotry dwindles and decays. The Protestant governors of this University have never been even suspected of seeking to make They take orders, in obedience to the proselytes. statutes; but they faithfully devote their energies to the propagation of science and useful knowledge, and strictly confine their religious teaching to the students of their own persuasion, and do their duty as teachers with unaffected impartiality.

Nothing more ruinous to the cause of education in Ireland can be done than to meddle with this institution, conspicuous as it is, respected and reverenced as it is, and faithful as it has ever been to the cause of generous and humanizing education. Let this, at least, be spared by the devastating hand of special legislation for Ireland. It is but a small set-off against Maynooth, devoted to the education of priests. Leave this one long-established school untouched, for the education of ministers in that Church which you have degraded and pauperized, while you pretended to respect it. Do not pervert its governing body, Protestant as it is, and as it ought to be, into such an imbroglio of jarring elements, as your Board of National Education.

Introduce Roman Catholics and dissenters into this hitherto homogeneous, consistent, united, useful, and liberal body of learned and laborious teachers, and we shall forthwith see the commencement of that contention which now disgraces all aggregate corporations, and other public bodies in this distracted country—Municipal Corporations, Poor Law Guardians, Town Commissioners—Dispensary Committees—the National Board of Education—in filling vacancies in all these, the vicious contest is whether Catholic or Protestant shall be elected. In discharging the duty of appointing public officers, these discordant bodies themselves act upon the same corrupt principle of choice. The qualification of the candidate is disregarded, and his religion alone determines the election.

It is disheartening to read the discussions on the several proposed schemes for spoiling Trinity College. Almost the only thing in which they agree is the necessity of starting the deformed College under a governing Body in which the pugnacious parties shall be evenly matched for the broils and battles, which, for the future, it will be their principal business to carry on.

From this land-locked—iron-bound, and agitated sea, on which the vessel of National Education is now tossed, there certainly is an outlet, and I can see but one. All agree that something should be done to get into safe and quiet waters, in which a prosperous voyage may be made, to some useful result.

Upon the assumption that Roman Catholics had a conscientious objection to let their sons breathe the Protestant atmosphere of Trinity College, the Queen's University was instituted, in which the air should be entirely free from sectarian taint. This, however, was not what the bigots of any party desired, and its schools were branded with the name of God-less Colleges, to be hunted down, and barked at by all the parties who agitate for Denominational schools.

The enlightened statesman, who founded this wellconceived national institution, stopped short of its completion, and left the colleges without chambers for resident students, by which they are disabled from giving an Academical education, in its proper sense. This defect may be supplied by building, in each of the three colleges (which are admirably placed for the execution of their useful work) a square, sufficient for the chambers of 150 or 200 resident students: and by enlarging the ground for the sports and exercises necessary for the health and recreation of studious youths. Thirty or forty thousand pounds, thus expended on each of these colleges, would make them attractive, and no carping of hostile parties would keep students of any religious persuasion from resorting to them. This expenditure would, selfevidently, be for a purely Irish and national purpose; and the application to it of a fraction of the confiscated property of the Irish Church, would be in accordance with the promise that this property would not be diverted from Ireland. Another fraction of it may be applied to provide stipends for fellows, scholars, and chairs for the several faculties of science. and for exhibitions, premiums, and honours for successful competitors in the academical race. The confiscated property is abundant for all this, and much more, and this application of it would be hailed by every lover of peace and order, and by every friend of national progress in Ireland.

The reputation of Trinity College (the growth of three hundred years), cannot be transferred to any new institution. No adequate substitute for this long-respected school of learning can be created by any power on earth. If this old University be suppressed, all who desire, and can afford to get an Academical education must go to England, or elsewhere for it. Great numbers, who can afford the cost of it in Dublin, will be unable to go abroad for it, and will be most cruelly and unjustly deprived of the prestige of a learned degree when entering the professions, in which this class of students have at all times, in Ireland, been the most numerous and the most distinguished members. To the property granted for the support of this ancient school of learning, it has as good a title as any owner in fee can possibly have; the confiscation of it cannot be justified upon any principle that will not equally apply to any other proprietor.

The subject of national and collegiate education, now about to come for discussion before the British legislature, is reducible to one simple question, explicitly stated by the Rector of the Roman Catholic University, on the 25th of last November, in the presence of Cardinal Cullen, and an assembly of the Roman Catholic clergy, who all applauded that statement, and it was, next day, published in the Freeman's Journal. The statement, although addressed to the Cardinal in the chair, was intended for the Government and legislature of this United Empire. He said you must either grant a charter and an ample endowment to this, the Roman Catholic University, now governed by Papal clergy and Jesuits;

